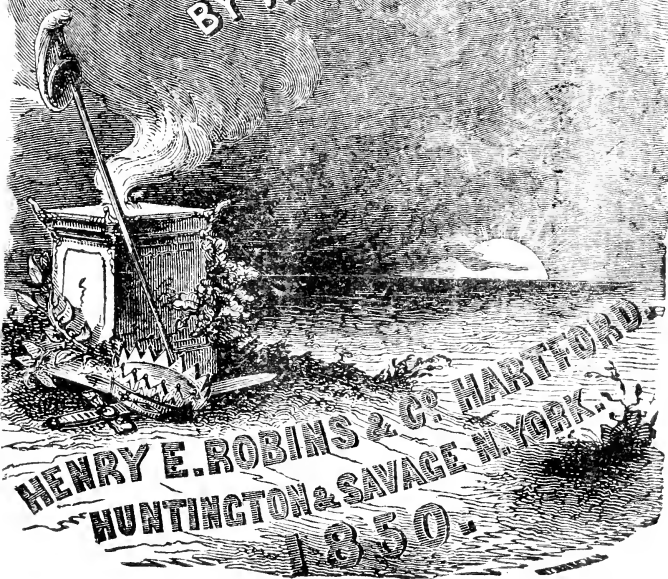




REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

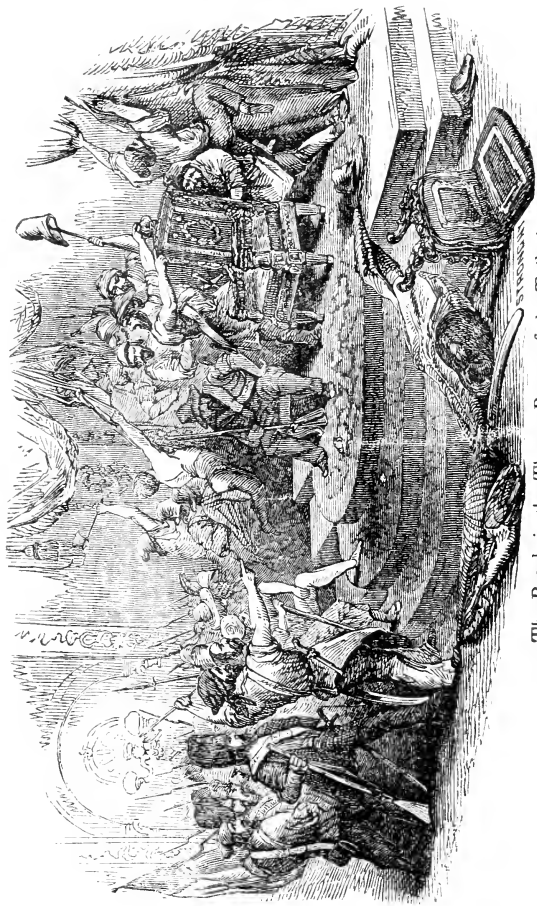
BY W. S. CHASE.



HENRY E. ROBINS & CO. HARTFORD.
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1850.

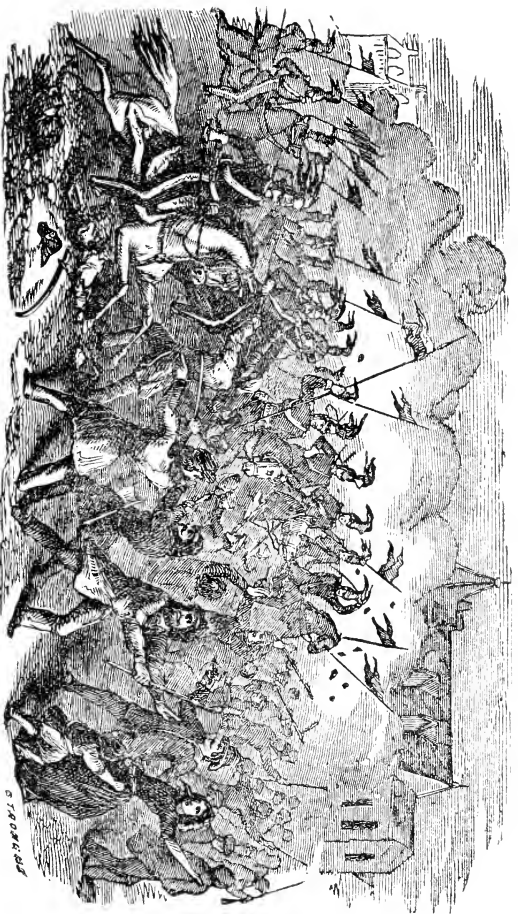


The Emperor of Austria leaving Vienna.



The People in the Throne Room of the Tuileries.

Charge of Troops at Berlin,



S. TROVATI



1848,

A YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS.

WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING

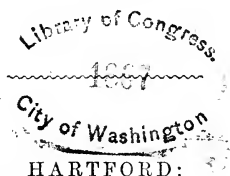
THE REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS OF 1849.

TOGETHER WITH

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE CAUSES OF

THE THIRD FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY WILLIAM S. CHASE.



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P R E F A C E .

THE year 1848 was remarkably eventful. To this country it brought the termination of our war of conquest in Mexico, a change of administration which elevated General Taylor to the Presidency and the Whig Party to power, and, finally, the discovery of the Gold Regions in California, a discovery realizing dreams of the fabled Dorado of the past, and pregnant with mighty consequences for the future.

In Europe, 1848 was emphatically a year of Revolutions. "The social and political convulsions which marked its course, the tottering of thrones and dynasties, the irruption of armed democracy into the council-chambers of kings, the uprisings of oppressed and dormant nationalities, and the consequent ruin of the cumbrous fabrics raised over them by diplomacy, are incidents of that eventful year, which have been watched by contemporary spectators with the lively emotions due to such vast dramatic spectacles, and to which inquiry

will, for many a generation to come, revert as to the starting points of current history."

The foregoing passage is taken from the preface to Mr. Walter K. Kelly's "History of the Year 1848," the work from which, chiefly, the present volume is abridged. Mr. Kelly has been quite successful in the attempt to depict the main features of the period from which his book takes its title, and to lay before the reader a succinct and digested narrative of its great political events and perturbations. "The utility of such a retrospect," he says, "if executed with due care, fidelity, and discretion, will be at once admitted. The most assiduous reader of the public journals must often have felt himself bewildered by the unparalleled multiplicity and complexity of the movements recorded by them during the past year, and must have confessed the necessity of correcting his first vague impressions and questionable conclusions by a reconsideration of the main facts from which they were derived."

The French Revolution properly claims the largest space in this work. Although that event was so sudden and unexpected as to seem premature, the explosive forces which resulted in it had been long accumulating. A condensed account of the causes which led to it has been thought appropriate. The

Reign of Louis Philippe embraced those causes ; and the reader is therefore invited, before entering upon the narrative of their consequences, to take as complete a survey of that reign as our brief limits will allow us to offer.

This volume, it will be seen, traces the stream of events only to the close of the year 1848. It would be interesting to follow its course beyond that point, but the prescribed size of the book forbids. Interesting as it might be, however, it would, in many respects, be painful to record the subsequent history of those revolutionary movements which, last year, inspired the friends of liberal principles, in Europe and throughout the world, with enthusiasm and hope. To say nothing of the sore grief inflicted on our hearts by that latest blow of misfortune beneath which Hungary has fallen, who could behold the present attitude of France without mingled emotions of shame, indignation, and alarm ? Look for one moment at her condition as depicted by Douglas Jerrold :—" All is calm as the sheltered lake on a summer eve. But there is a fearful tempest gathering. The audacious designs of Legitimists and Monarchists—the infamous expedition to Rome—the state of siege—the suspended and muzzled press—the

violation of individual liberty—the sweeping away of every political privilege won at the barricades of February—the imprisonment and exile of Republicans—the insolent disregard of the people's wishes—the deplorable state of the public treasury—the impending national bankruptcy—all these are slowly gathering and festering, and will soon break forth with violence so terrific that no human power will be able to check it. And God alone can tell the consequence.” The colors, although dark, are not too dark, in this gloomy picture of the worst spectacle of “reaction” in Europe. France, with all her fine qualities of head and heart, is subject to fits of madness. France is a maniac now, and the brighter and more exquisite are her faculties, the more melancholy is their eclipse.

It is only an eclipse. It will pass like a shadow. France will yet be a light to the nations. Heavy as are the clouds of darkness that seem to be enveloping the European Continent, the word of promise is sure, that “darkness cometh before day.”

Whatever may be the immediate effects of the convulsions of 1848, their tendency and their ultimate results cannot fail to be good. One thing, at least, has been already gained. It is thus indicated by President Wayland, in

his eloquent discourse on the Recent Revolutions in Europe:—"The rights of man, as an intelligent and responsible being, have been definitely expressed; and the expression must meet a response from every human heart. Truths like these stand in no need of support from argument; they appeal to every man's consciousness, and they cannot be obliterated from his recollection. Hence, whether sooner or later, they must work out their necessary result. The mist of ages has cleared away, and the haven has been discovered; and though the horizon may again be overcast, and progress for the time be arrested, yet henceforth every movement will be in the right direction, until the nations repose in the enjoyment of peace and soul-liberty."

The following extract, from the same discourse, is at once so admirable and so pertinent to our subject, that it shall conclude this preface. "Important social revolutions rarely advance in straight lines. Obstructions turn the movement, after it has commenced, sometimes to the one side. and sometimes to the other. The course may thus be varied, but the tendency remains the same; it gains strength by delay, and accumulates momentum by assimilating with itself every analogous impulse, until, having overcome every obstacle,

it exerts its rightful power over the character of man. There may be, in the case before us, much to obstruct the cause of free opinion. The selfishness of the human heart may engender fierce collision. Ignorance of the principles of our social nature may construct many a system utterly subversive of human happiness. Many things may retard the result which we hope for, but they cannot change the tendency which God himself has impressed on our nature. Thus, when a mighty river issues from its source, the law of gravitation must bring it inevitably to the level of the ocean. It will flow for a thousand miles at the base of the mountains which arrest its course, collecting strength from the streams which are nourished in the summits of the barrier itself, until, swollen to irresistible force, it overcomes every obstacle, and sweeps its triumphant way through a multitude of nations; at last, gathering volume as it proceeds, at the spot marked out by the laws of its being, it pours itself into the ocean bay, bearing on its waters the riches of a continent, and inviting mighty navies to repose upon its bosom."

CAUSES OF THE THIRD FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE.

THE EVE OF A REVOLUTION—THE THREE DAYS—THE ABDICATION
AND FLIGHT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.

THE causes of the Revolution of 1848 may be traced back to the Revolution of 1830. The latter was effected by two means—by the organized conspiracy of the republicans, and by the spontaneous indignation of the middle classes at the despotic policy pursued by the Government of the Restoration. Through the influence of the agents whom the wealth of the Duke of Orleans enabled him to secure in the committees of the Carbonari and other secret societies, and through his own cunning management of the good, but too credulous Lafayette, the French people were induced to accept Louis Philippe as their King. They were deluded by the specious title under which this monarchy was offered as “the best of republics.” But scarcely had that prince ascended the throne which he promised to surround with republican institutions, when he began, cautiously at first, but with increasing bold-

ness that at length became outright rashness, the traitorous work of rendering it despotic and absolute. The reaction against him, at least in the minds of the republicans, dates from the moment when he took his seat upon a throne which they had fought to destroy. They looked on themselves as deceived, tricked, and ignominiously vanquished.

After a few abortive attempts at revolution on the part of some of the more impatient republicans, their party abandoned for a time the system of physical force, and relied for ultimate victory upon the influence of the pen (that surest of all instruments in the warfare of opinions), and also upon the self-destructive tendencies of the errors of government.

The republicans were not wrong in anticipating errors in the course of government. For a while, indeed, so long as the spirit of insurrection was yet alive, Louis Philippe affected the bearing as well as the title of a citizen king; but no sooner was this crushed, than he entered upon a series of errors which were sure to prove in the end as ruinous to himself as to the nation. The personal pronoun *he* is here intentionally used, because the phrase so often applied to Louis Philippe, by way of justification or excuse,—the phrase, *le roi regne et ne gouverne pas*,—*the king reigns, not governs*,—is so well known to have involved an idle distinction, that it is not unjust to throw a large share of the responsibility attached to his administration, upon the ex-king himself. His attacks upon the liberty of the press and the right of meeting; his short-sighted encouragement of financial speculations which would inevitably plunge the nation sooner or later into bankruptcy; his connivance at a corrupt political system which ruled France by purchased majorities; his alleged readiness, for the sake of alliance with despotic powers, to sacrifice the national honor, and the interests of liberty, in those countries which looked to France for

sympathy and aid in their resistance to tyranny; in fine, the apparent avidity with which, throughout his whole policy, domestic and foreign, he sought to enrich and aggrandize himself and his family, tended to hasten the hour which should put a period to his sway.

It may be well to indicate somewhat more particularly, the errors—to call them by so mild a name—which have been summed up in the preceding paragraph.

Louis Philippe, during his reign, followed, at home and abroad, a selfish policy. At home, all his efforts were designed to increase the material prosperity of the middle classes, in such a way as to interest a powerful and influential party in his favor, by making them feel that their riches were derived from him. His efforts were for a long time successful. No government can last long at Paris without the support of the National Guard, which is composed principally of citizens belonging to the middle classes. So long as the National Guard remains faithful to the existing power, the army remains faithful: the moment the civic force wavers, then the line gives way. Now for many years the National Guard remained firmly faithful to a king who gave them peace and prosperity, and under whose reign commerce, trade, and the useful arts, made rapid progress. It has been observed that no greater proof is wanting of the blind adherence of the middle classes to the policy of Louis Philippe, than the large sums they allowed him to expend in fortifications, the vast increase of taxation to which they submitted uncomplainingly, and their readiness to second everything like democratic or republican change. Encouraged by impunity, Louis Philippe appeared to forget how far the people had been instrumental in placing him on the throne, and to become wholly intent upon diverting to his own advantage the power with which he had been intrusted. His enormous extension of the civil list, his

notorious abuse of permission to cut wood in the national forests, his exorbitant demands for marriage portions in favor of his children, his system of creating numerous unnecessary offices in order to buy votes, and, in short, his grasping at almost every conceivable mode of draining money from the nation, had imposed so crushing a weight upon taxation, that it extorted complaints from all classes of society. What with direct impositions, loans, and floating debt, the taxes in France were much heavier under the reign of Louis Philippe than during the wars of Napoleon. The evils of this excessive taxation were aggravated by scarcity in 1847, when commerce was at a low ebb, every trade languished, labor was extremely ill-paid, and the whole country groaned under the burden of an oppressive and selfish system. The middle classes themselves had gradually been changed from staunch supporters of the king into lukewarm friends or direct enemies, and, consequently, the National Guard was no longer an impregnable tower of strength.

The foreign policy of Louis Philippe was no less selfish than his domestic policy. The very first act of his ministry was the disavowal of all the insurrectionary tendencies, awakened by the example of France, in the rest of Europe. The design was to conciliate the various reigning powers by this ominous token of the intention of government to deny those principles, as the exponent of which it had been raised to authority. But even after its recognition, Austria and Prussia but coolly received its representatives, and Russia did not hesitate to make the residence of a French ambassador at her court as unpleasant as want of consideration and personal disrespect could render it. England is without doubt, therefore, indebted less to the personal predilections of Louis Philippe than to the necessities of his position, for the apparent good feeling evinced towards her during the earlier portion of his reign.

In spite of his frequent professions of personal attachment to the Royal Family of England, and of his wish to maintain the *entente cordiale*, as it has been called, "a good understanding," between France and Great Britain, it is now clear that his chief desire was to strengthen his throne by alliance with the more absolute monarchies, rather than by promoting sympathies founded on resemblance in the fundamental and constitutional elements of national government. The fear of coming to a positive difference with England before his throne was firmly enough established to sustain the shock, was probably the constraining reason that he did not accept the crown of Belgium for his son the Duke of Nemours. And afterwards, a sense of the necessity of still preserving the English alliance unbroken, was the secret of that peace policy (overpraised in this country because its motives were mistaken or unknown) which transferred the reins of administration from Thiers to Guizot, in consequence of the deception practised by the latter in such a way as to encourage both monarch and minister to play, for their own purposes, into the hands of the war party, at the period when the conflicting interests of Turkey and Egypt in Syria had given reason for an intervention of the greater powers. France was then chagrined to find herself suddenly isolated from the rest of Europe by the decision of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, to settle the question without their assistance. Among the various movements to which the subsiding agitation of the Three Days gave an impulse, the Belgian Revolution was the only one in which France took a prominent part. The reluctant occupation of Ancona, counteracted as it was by the attitude preserved by the French government, was almost valueless in its results. It did not hinder Italy from falling back to her old position, hopeless of liberty, and cursing the delusion by which she had

been tempted to trust to French support. In concert with Guizot, Louis Philippe had aimed by his defence of the Gallician massacres, by his proffer of support to the Jesuits in Switzerland, to the Souderbund, and by his refusal of sympathy and aid to the promoters of liberal principles in Italy, to secure the forgiveness of Austria for her sins against legitimacy. He had sought to reconcile Russia by his abandonment of the interests of Poland. Confident of the alliance of these Northern powers, he at length ventured to cut the ties by which he had hitherto been bound to England. He had already commenced and carried on a system of nepotism, of family aggrandizement, which had allotted to one son, the Duke de Nemours, the dignity of Regent in case of his own death; which had appointed another son, the Duke d'Aumale, Governor-General of Algeria; another, the Prince de Joinville, Admiral of the Navy; and evinced an intention to create for still another, the Duke de Montpensier, the title of Grand Master of the Artillery,—thus violating the spirit of the French military system that permits every common soldier to aspire to the rank of Marshal; which, in fine, had seated one daughter of the House of Orleans on the throne of Belgium, and given to one son a royal bride and a vice-royalty: This system of nepotism he now resolved to consummate by wedding another son, in spite of the opposition of Great Britain, with an heiress presumptive to the throne of Spain. This alliance, prompted by a purely dynastic motive, severed the alliance with England which the French nation had supported impatiently, but still supported, on account of the great interests of humanity, the freedom of the seas, commerce, and industry; but when it was thus suddenly thrown to the winds for the sake of family aggrandizement, France perceived that there was nothing sincere but ambition in the condescension until then shown by Louis Philippe to England. From

that day, says Lamartine, who predicted the fatal results of the ambitious and impolitic marriage of the Duke de Montpensier,—from that day, the King, rendered unpopular with the republican party by his throne, and unpopular with the legitimist party by his usurpation, was rendered unpopular with the pacific and government party, by the war with which the Spanish marriage menaced France. Such was the effect of the selfish foreign policy pursued by the King of the French.

Louis Philippe, however, thought himself invincible, because he still retained a ministry, eloquent in parliament and agreeable at court, and two strong majorities in the chambers. But the very remnant of strength to which he trusted became his destruction. The corrupt means employed in obtaining and holding it began justly to excite popular indignation. Out of a population of 35,400,486 only a few more than 200,000 enjoyed the privileges of electors. The centralization which existed in France left at the disposal of Government more than four hundred thousand offices, great and small. These, with crosses of the Legion of Honor, roads, concessions of mines, loans to companies, and direct purchase of votes by cash, enabled the Guizot administration to ensure itself a majority. But even this majority must needs be secured by making it interested. Out of four hundred and fifty members, therefore, two hundred and four were made placemen, and the chamber was thus crowded by salaried functionaries of Government. The popular complaints of corruption were ratified by judicial decisions, in processes instituted against public officers and men who had sat on the same benches with Guizot, for the sale of places. The trial of Teste and his associates revealed to an alarming extent the justice of those complaints.

The example of servility and selfishness in high

places became the source of wide-spread contagion. Ministers who sold concessions and bargained for the price of a law, were imitated by clerks in government offices. Men shamelessly offered their services to government at a fixed price, and cases were not unknown where offices were obtained at the expense of a wife's dishonor. The management of theatres was sold to the highest bidder. In fact, corruption infected every department of public service, and even, at length, the walks of private life. "It would seem," observed, in September, 1847, a French writer (whose survey of the subject, from a strictly religious point of view, is entitled to peculiar consideration)—"it would seem as though our rulers had sought systematically to stifle honorable sentiments, and to excite in men's hearts an immoderate, an insatiable love of money. They have adopted this line of conduct as a means of extinguishing public spirit, of preventing all serious opposition, and of everywhere forming docile instruments. They have preached with effrontery in their journals, and from the parliamentary tribune, the *religion of material interests*, alleging that it is the great object of human life, and the essential end of society. Alas! our rulers have been but too successful in this new kind of proselytism. Citizens of all ranks have rushed with phrensied eagerness on the bait so imprudently offered to their avarice. 'Money! money at any price!' Such has appeared to be the cry alike of the highest and of the lowest in the social scale; and, amidst the universal ruins of religion and virtue, cupidity has remained standing like a mighty giant!" The records of the French courts of justice during the year 1847, expose the political corruption of ex-ministers like Teste and Cubières, the licentiousness of many popular authors and journalists, the horrors of the Praslin tragedy (in which government is more than suspected of having connived at the suicide of the Duke de Praslin), the self-

murders and crazy attempts at murder on the part of certain diplomatic officers of high rank, like the Counts de Bresson and Mortier; and are full of other hideous developments of sin and madness in private and public life. They also testify to the religious persecutions endured by the Baptists in the Department of l'Aisne, whose persistence in exercising the right of meeting, guaranteed to them in common with all Frenchmen by the charter, was visited by trials, fines, and imprisonment. M. Odillon Barrot, a principal promoter of the Reform Banquets of 1847, cordially accepted an invitation to become the legal adviser of the Baptists. On one occasion, at a trial where his engagements prevented him from being present as their advocate, his place was supplied by M. Henri Lutteroth, the able conductor of *Le Sémateur*, a leading Parisian journal, who, although not agreeing with their denominational peculiarities, was deeply interested in the principle at stake, and in the constancy with which these humble Christians suffered in order to maintain it. The case was decided against them by the higher courts to which it was successively carried. It was still pending when the Revolution broke forth, the immediate consequence of a struggle for the same principle involved in their case, a struggle provoked by the same absolute law which had been revived in order to interfere with their right of meeting. Thus the heroic resistance of a few obscure Baptists to an odious law, was among the proximate causes of hastening an event which other causes had already rendered inevitable.

That this event had become inevitable, that it was becoming imminent, was indicated by signs that daily multiplied. The circumstance that in the winter of 1847 thousands of spectators were attracted to one of the theatres in Paris by a play entitled *la Revolution Française*, the French Revolution, caused the writer of these pages (then residing at Paris) to pen the fol-

lowing paragraph: "The Parisians at present content themselves with being amused by minute representations of scenes which were stern and stirring realities for their fathers. In the faubourg St. Antoine, however, slumber fires yet unquenched that will surely burst forth with all their fury in the *next French Revolution*. For why should there not be another? The king, with all his tact and his decision of character, cannot live for ever; and even before the firm hand which now wields the sceptre is palsied in death, the prestige of Louis Philippe's name may have vanished, and scores of contingent causes may excite the 'whirlwind and storm.' The only infallible security against political disorder, is a degree of civil right and liberty, and of intellectual and moral development, which the masses are far, very far from having attained. And if a revolution should arise, its most fearful element would be, as of old, the rage of the people. Before this terrible power, the monied aristocracy which sixteen years of golden peace have created, would flee as speedily as the nobility and even the royalty of a former day." It may be allowable to have repeated this partial prediction, now that it has since been signally fulfilled.

During the interval, in 1847, between the prorogation of the Chamber of Deputies in July, and its re-assembling in December, much more significant exhibitions of public feeling than those which attended the play alluded to, were made at various political dinners, held throughout the provinces. Many of these assemblies were under the direction of M. Duvergier (de Hauranne), a deputy, who, since he cast off allegiance to M. Guizot in 1839, had been assiduous in his endeavors to promote by speeches and publications, the cause of electoral reform. At all of these Reform Banquets, as they were called—about sixty in number,—the custom universal in monarchical countries of

drinking to the sovereign's health, was invariably omitted, for the purpose of testifying the displeasure of the people whose temporary favor had elevated Louis Philippe to the throne. The Banquets were attended by most of the prominent members of the different parties of the opposition; and the freedom with which the subject of electoral reform was discussed, resulted in a healthy agitation of public sentiment that boded well for the rational progress of constitutional liberty in France.

The steady opposition maintained at these Reform Banquets, at the parliamentary tribune, and through the press, against the selfish policy of Louis Philippe, co-operated with the vices and errors of government, and with the accumulating forces of public opinion, to produce the Revolution of 1848.

Among the forces of public opinion which have just been mentioned, one of the most effectual and important was that communicated by the impulse of what usually pass under the name of Socialistic doctrines. Although this name covers the utmost variety of views, held by as great a variety of parties, yet those who entertain them are often quite indiscriminately classed together as Socialists, whether they are disciples of Saint Simon or Fourier, admirers of Pierre Leroux, of Considérant, or of Proudhon, or belong to the numerous subdivisions under the title of *Communistes-égalitaires*, *Communionistes*, *Communitaires*, *Communistes-matérialistes*, *Communaulistes*, etc., etc., which compose the party of Communists. Now, the intellectual activity of France had been nowhere more vigorously exercised during late years, than in discussing great Social questions. An incredible number of books and pamphlets had been occasioned by almost every known or alleged evil, and by almost every proposed reform. Texts had alternately been furnished by prison discipline, colonial slavery, legislative and finan-

cial arrangements, pauperism, public education, and especially by that all-absorbing question from which no political thinker can longer avert his attention—the improvement of the existing relations between what is designated as the laboring portion of the community and their employers, the question known on the European continent under the technical name of the Organization of Labor. The discussion of these great questions had long occupied an increasing number of Socialists of every party and of no party in France. The writer has elsewhere had occasion to say that the French Socialists “have raised many problems which await future solution. They have sown in the public mind many ideas, which, amidst tares, will yet yield good grain. Without admiring some of the motley peculiarities by which they are distinguished, it is right to recognise in their ranks not a few of the most earnest and devoted friends of humanity. Even the dreams of those among them who are not utterly lost in the darkness of infidelity, reflect, however dimly, the light of the purest and highest truth. The beauty of their best conceptions is, as the Germans might call it, a certain after-shine (*nachshein*) of Christianity.” To introduce the briefest possible explanation of their views, it may be said that they added a new to the old revolutionary principle. The old principle includes the right of self-government and civil and religious liberty—the principles, in fact, that in the first French revolution were so wisely advocated by Vergniaud, Bailly, Roland, Brissot, and the other Girondins; and so ferociously contended for by Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, Robespierre, Hebert, and Chaumette; and which, in the revolution of 1830, found illustrious advocates in Lafayette, Constant, and Lafitte. The old principle is only a political principle, and attempts to realize what our own American people have realized under a Republic. Louis Philippe invaded this principle, and he

fell. But his overthrow was aided by a new principle, which adopts the old one, but goes much further. It insists not only upon civil and religious liberty, and a share in the government through suffrage, for the whole adult population, but also upon the establishment of new Social relations between capital and labor. By a new distribution of wealth, and by the destruction, or at least the modification of individualism, it would show to the world that every man might have more than enough for his wants, and poverty and crime be altogether banished from society. This new principle had gained numerous converts among the uneducated as well as the educated classes. Many of its most active recruits were drawn from the ranks of the workingmen of Paris, large numbers of whom had accepted Louis Blanc as their apostle, as their master and guide in the investigation of the industrial problem. It was these men, in reality, whose strong arms overthrew the monarchy. For a moment the new and the old revolutionary principle struggled together, and struggled successfully against the despotic tendencies of the system of Louis Philippe. To show here how soon and how unfortunately the respective adherents of the two principles began to war against each other, would be to anticipate the course of our narrative. Let us return to the immediate consequences of the Reform Banquets. Here we may enter upon Mr. Kelly's account.

“On the 28th of December, 1847, the last session of the French Parliament as constituted by the Charter of 1830, was opened by Louis Philippe in person. The interest of the royal speech centred almost wholly on one passage; it was that in which allusion was made to the numerous banquets that had been held all over the kingdom, in furtherance of the pressing demand for parliamentary reform. These banquets were characterized by the King as the result of an “agitation

fomented by blind and hostile passions." Such language could not fail to be vehemently resented by a considerable minority in the Chamber, as an insolent and unconstitutional censure ; and out of doors it was repeated with astonishment, indignation, alarm, or malicious exultation, according as each man feared or desired the convulsion it portended. The funds fell on the publication of the royal speech. The debate in the Chamber of Peers, on the address in answer to the speech, passed off, as was to be expected, in a manner quite satisfactory to ministers. It was far otherwise in the Chamber of Deputies, where the debate was protracted through no fewer than nineteen sittings. The paragraph relating to the Reform banquets came under discussion on the 7th of February, previously to which day the angry feelings of the Opposition had been exasperated by a fresh provocation on the part of ministers.

The twelfth arrondissement of Paris having resolved to hold on the 19th of January, a public banquet, at which it was expected that a large body of the Opposition Deputies would be present, the stewards received notice from the prefecture of police that the requisite permission would not be granted them. The stewards replied that they had neither asked, nor thought of asking, a permission of which they stood in no need ; and that, as the laws directed against associations were of no force against these meetings, they should treat the interference of the police with contempt. The banquet, however, was postponed. On the 24th the stewards published a notice that the meeting should positively be held, and they emphatically pledged themselves to bring the question of law to an issue. The banquet was subsequently announced for the 20th of February, but again postponed to the 22d. So threatening did the aspect of the capital become, in consequence of the fermentation of popular feeling,

during the interval, that ministers seem to have felt the necessity of tempering their firmness with all possible show of moderation and deference for established law. Accordingly, they intimated, in the course of the debate on the address in the Chamber of Deputies, that they would only offer a formal opposition to the banquet, with a view to bring the disputed question to a legal arbitrament. A single commissary of police was to be stationed at the door of the banqueting-hall, and after warning those present of the illegality of the proceedings, he was to take down the names of such as insisted on entering, and then withdraw. On the 11th the Chamber voted the passage of the address echoing the obnoxious passage in the royal speech. On the 12th, the several paragraphs of the address having been voted, a division took place on the whole collectively. The Opposition members abstained from voting, and ministers had a majority of 241 votes in a house of 244. The Opposition, to the number of more than a hundred, met the next day, and resolved unanimously that they would all attend the banquet, and that no member of their party, even if chosen by lot, should go up with the deputation which was to present the address to the King. Several of the Opposition members had, before this, talked of resigning, and appealing to the country—a course which Emile de Girardin, the able editor of *La Presse*, a leading Parisian journal, strongly recommended and enforced by his example; but the majority decided that it was their duty to remain at their posts as watchful guardians of the public rights.

Thus far we see the two hostile parties appealing to the law for the justification of their conduct, and professing to act strictly in accordance with their several interpretations of certain ambiguous enactments; but the next movement of the Opposition deputies carried them out of the pale of the law, and exposed

them to be taken in the flank by their antagonists. "The general committee appointed to organize the banquet," published in the papers on Sunday evening and Monday morning, the 20th and 21st, "a manifesto, prescribing the mode of assemblage and the order in which the procession was to reach the place of rendezvous. The National Guard were specially invited to attend, in order to accomplish the double duty of defending liberty by joining the demonstration, and protecting order and preventing all collision by their presence." They were to line the streets through which the procession passed, and to form in columns in the numerical order of their respective legions, with their officers at their head; but they were to present themselves without arms.

Eagerly seizing the advantage thus afforded it, the Government issued three proclamations on Monday, absolutely prohibiting the banquet, on the ground that the summons addressed to the National Guard by the banquet committee was a flagrant violation of the law and the constitution, and tantamount to setting up an *imperium in imperio*, an empire within an empire. In point of law, the ministers were clearly in the right, but they had put themselves in a false position, from which they were not to be extricated by the most dexterous use of any error in tactics committed by their opponents. A question was at issue involving principles of the highest order, and an attempt to shirk it upon a by-plea was pitifully out of place. The crisis was one that demanded for its pacific solution the genius of a great statesman; the ministry had nothing better to apply to it than the clever subterfuges of men versed in the chicanery of party.

Meanwhile they had been long making military preparations on a scale sufficient, as they thought, to render all resistance hopeless. The garrison of Paris had been increased to the number of nearly 100,000

men, and supplied with axes, pickaxes, shovels, and other implements for demolishing barricades, with fifty ball-cartridges and provisions for four days. The cannon at Vincennes were put in requisition for active service, and the streets of the capital resounded by night with the heavy rolling of wagons conveying ammunition. But far from being dismayed by this vast array of physical force, the enemies of the monarchy seem to have beheld in it a sure prognostic of their own approaching triumph. M. Goudchaux, one of the Republican ministers, has deposed, that "some days before the Revolution" a provisional government was actually nominated by a committee sitting in his house. Many other conclaves, similarly engaged, were held nightly in various quarters of the town.

The prohibition of the Metropolitan Reform banquet sealed the doom of Louis Philippe. His fall, which was now inevitable, involved that of Guizot, who, although he had at first opposed, yet afterwards consented to the act, and thus shared its responsibility and its fatal consequences. In this last instance of subjecting his high intellect to the exigency and dictation of a meaner one, the minister filled to the brim the measure of his previous political errors. He thus completed the forfeiture of that fame as a statesman, which, until he was tricked into becoming the tool of a royal master, the gravity of his character, so unusual among Frenchmen, his profound learning, impressive eloquence, and acknowledged integrity, had won for him, shedding additional lustre upon his fame as an historian. Guizot may have imagined that the interests of France depended on strengthening the ties which bound the Orleans dynasty to it. But his mistaken, if not criminal confidence in the wily son of Philippe Egalité, led him to serve his king better than his country. He was destined to reap his reward. Within a few hours from the date of his latest act of sub-

serviency to the will of the monarch, and of haughty opposition to the will of the people, he was to be hurled from his elevated place of power. His emotions upon this sudden reverse of power might have been expressed by him in the language which Shakespeare, his familiar poet, puts in the mouth of another fallen courtier :—

Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness !
 * * * * * I have ventured
 This many summers in a sea of glory ;
 But, far beyond my depth, my high-blown pride
 At length broke under me, and now has left me,
 Weary, and old with service, to the mercy
 Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.
 * * * * * O how wretched
 Is that poor man that hangs on prince's favors !
 * * * When he falls, he falls, like Lucifer,
 Never to hope again.

The monarch whose influence over his ministers had been so unfortunate for both, richly merited, as a politician and as a prince, the disgrace which awaited him. As an individual, the history of his early vicissitudes is peculiarly interesting : a sincere respect may be cherished for his private virtues as a son, a brother, a husband, a father ; for his urbanity of manners, for the wonderful variety and extent of his knowledge, and for his superior talents ; but neither admiration of his excellent personal qualities, nor sympathy with the trials of his youth, can or ought to alter in the least the conviction forced upon every impartial mind, that his heart had long been false to his original profession of those liberal principles which for years it seems to have been his object to subvert.

Louis Philippe and Guizot, by their final act of blind and insane resistance to the popular and liberal principle, hastened an inevitable crisis. They forgot, in their infatuation, how deeply, how fully they were in-

debted to that very principle, for the power which they possessed. Nor could they have chosen a more unfavorable moment for this arrogant abuse of their power, than at a period when the entire political aspect of Europe—with a revolution in Sicily—a revolution in Naples—a Constitution granted to the Tuscans—and great concessions made to the Piedmontese—might have revealed to them the folly and danger of attempting to enslave France, whose favorite boast is its claim to be a pioneer in the path of progressive liberty on the Continent.

Near the tumultuous close of one of the debates in the Chamber on that paragraph in the royal speech relating to the Reform banquets, Odillon Barrot succeeded in making his voice heard above the uproar, and exclaimed, "I call on you to hear me, and to weigh well my words: Ministers of the Revolution of July, you violate a law respected even by the Restoration at the very moment of its fall. I tell you that you do not respect even what was respected by Polignac." It was Polignac whose fatal support of Charles X. in his unconditional measures, led to the outbreak in 1830, which drove that sovereign into exile. The bold reproof of the orator should have alarmed the Court like a voice of prophecy; but it was unheeded, and Louis Philippe and Guizot paid the penalty for failing to profit by the fate of Charles X. and Polignac.

It is a singular coincidence that the downfall of the successive monarchies was preceded by events in Algeria, which, under different circumstances, would have been highly fortunate. On the first day of the year 1848, the surrender of Abd-el-Kader was made known in Paris. That modern Jugurtha had scarcely set foot, however, on the soil of those who had defeated and duped him, when he beheld the end of a reign, the beginning of which his own struggle with France had witnessed. While the fall of the Arab chieftain grati-

fied the martial pride of France, by securing to her the undisputed possession of her conquest, and opportunely closed one huge drain upon her exchequer, it wholly failed of yielding to the dynastic party any accession of popularity. Louis Philippe in 1848, like Charles X. in 1830, found in the success achieved in Algeria, not even a momentary abatement of the disaffection which portended an approaching crisis.

The crisis came. The causes which have been indicated in this rapid survey of the reign of Louis Philippe at length reached their unavoidable conclusion. Louis Philippe was no longer King of the French—

“ Eighteen years his evil spirit brooded o’er a noble land,
Eighteen years he lied and cheated ;—found France gold, and
made her sand ;
Fooled whom he could not corrupt ; sundered freemen ; banded
slaves ;
Filled his Africa with butchers ; filled his France with worser
knaves ;
Stripped the people of their weapons, gagged them with Sep-
tember laws ;
Girdled Paris with his bastions ; stuffed with shells their mur-
derous maws ;
Picked out one whom God had made good and great and lion-
brave,
Made him evil, and, O marvel ! from a Guizot wrought a
slave !
—And to fall now, beat and baffled, ’neath his burghers’ dusty
feet,
Checked by a dozen barricades, felled by the stones that pave
the street,
With his hundred thousand men, with his Bugeaud, with his
might—
Quelled by one million citizens—weak, unarmed—but in the
right ! ”

The determination of the Government not to allow the banquet was not known in the Chamber of Deputies until a late hour on Monday. A debate on a bank-bill was proceeding languidly in the almost empty

chamber, when at a little before five every bench was filled by a sudden influx of Deputies. An animated dialogue ensued between M. Odillon Barrot, the leader of the Opposition, and M. Duchâtel, Minister of the Interior; after which the Chamber adjourned, and the Opposition Deputies held a meeting to consider what steps they should next take. A minority of eighteen, including Lamartine, Crémieux, and Ledru Rollin, were for proceeding at all risks in the course already announced, but the majority resolved to forego the banquet and impeach ministers. By this decision the members of the dynastic Opposition at once severed the temporary bond that had united them with the ultra-Liberal party. From that moment they fell from their position as leaders, and were contemptuously brushed aside, as useless incumbrances, by men who were ready to brave every chance, but for a higher stake than a mere change of ministry and some specious modification of a thoroughly rotten system.

It was not until late on Monday night that the news of the prohibition was generally current in Paris, except as a rumor. The principal thoroughfares were filled with anxious crowds impatiently waiting for the evening papers. When they appeared as usual at nine o'clock, the whole impression was instantly scrambled for and exhausted by purchasers at fifteen or twenty times the ordinary price. Between nine and ten the proclamations against the banquet were suddenly placarded on every wall in Paris. Large groups gathered round each of them, while one man read their contents aloud by torch-light. They were then torn down and trampled under foot, and every man whispered his neighbor that next day all Frenchmen should be ready to do their duty.

The early part of Tuesday morning passed off without any unusual display, but about half-past ten a crowd of some five or six thousand persons assembled

in front of the Chamber of Deputies, and began to force their way into the interior: they were easily dispersed by the troops which had been concentrated round the building during the night. The crowd retired quietly, singing the *Marseillaise*, and went to swell with their numbers the dense multitude now collected in the vast area between the Chamber of Deputies and the church of the Madeleine. The populace in this part of the city were unarmed, and as yet exhibited no symptoms of violence. Horse and foot were sent to disperse them, which was effected without any loss of life or other serious casualty, and with a singular display of good humor on both sides, the populace cheering the soldiers of the line; but wherever the Municipal Guard (police soldiers) appeared, they were hooted and pelted with stones. About noon the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères was assailed by a large mob, who strove to burst open the gate and inflict summary vengeance on Guizot; but they were easily repulsed by the strong force posted in and around the building. At one o'clock all the main thoroughfares were clear.

The lull did not last long. About three o'clock all the shops in the northern part of the metropolis were closed, and alarm generally prevailed. The populace had now begun to act on the offensive; some small detached posts were carried by them, the soldiers offering no resistance; one or two armorers' shops were pillaged, and a few barricades were formed with overturned carts, hackney-coaches, and omnibuses, but were taken by the troops almost as soon as erected. All this while the soldiers of the line and of the police force had alone been employed on the side of the Government, the ministers fearing to call out the National Guard, whose peculiar duty it was to act in similar emergencies. About five o'clock, however, the Executive, yielding to the entreaties of many leading

men, suffered the *rappel* to be beaten, and the manner in which it was done was curious and significant. The drummers were preceded and followed by detachments of the National Guard, and the rear was brought up by some hundreds of young fellows in blouses, armed with long sticks, and roaring out the favorite cries and songs of the day. It was evident the populace regarded the civic soldiers as their own trusty allies. But few of the latter responded to the call to arms: out of its 8000 men, the 2d legion mustered only 544, and those who obeyed the summons were left wholly unprovided with ammunition, with the sole exception of the 1st legion belonging to the district of the palaces, and numbering in its ranks many court tradesmen and other staunch Orleanists.

The Chamber of Deputies had met as usual at one o'clock, and proceeded very methodically to discuss—the Bordeaux bank-bill! M. Guizot arrived early, looking pale but undaunted. At three o'clock the Opposition members entered the chamber, and M. de Hauranne handed the President a paper containing a proposition for the impeachment of ministers. The President passed it to M. Guizot, who, after perusing it, laughed immoderately. Still the Chamber went on discussing the Bordeaux Bank-bill, and about five o'clock the President was about to leave his seat, when M. Barrot reminded him that a formal proposition had been deposited, and requested it might be read. The President replied that it must first be examined in committee, after which it would be brought up on Thursday. When that Thursday came, where was the Chamber of Deputies?

The Government and its partisans beheld in the events of the day only matter to justify their own contemptuous security. Scarcely had one weapon to a thousand men been seen in the hands of the mob, who had thought to terrify by their brawling a ministry

defended by 100,000 bayonets. As the night drew in, the whole western district of Paris was cleared of the rioters, and occupied by the military, who bivouacked round huge camp-fires in the broad streets and squares. The skirmishing continued to a late hour in the quarters St. Denis, Bonne Nouvelle, St. Martin, and the Marais, where several barricades were erected; but as the people had little ammunition, they were not warmly defended, and about one o'clock all was still.

The aspect of things was materially changed on Wednesday morning. Barricades sprang up rapidly in the narrow and intricate streets between the inner boulevards, the Rue St. Martin, and the river. The troops attacked them at an early hour, but the warm fire with which they were met showed that the people had by this time procured a considerable stock of arms. At many barricades the troops were repulsed, and only succeeded in capturing them after a third or a fourth charge. Two-and-twenty soldiers fell in one of these attacks in the Rue Quincampoix.

It was no longer a riot, but a vast insurrection, that was raging in the streets of the capital; the issue depended entirely on the conduct which the National Guard would pursue. If any considerable portion of them sided with the Government, or if they even stood aloof, the soldiers of the line would fight to the last extremity; but the event proved that they would not turn their weapons against the civic force. At seven in the morning the *générale* was beaten for the National Guard, who now obeyed the summons with alacrity; at the same time declaring that their purpose was not to protect the ministry, but to stop the effusion of blood. The legions, as they formed, shouted, "*Vive la Réforme !*" "Down with Guizot!" "Down with the Ministers!" The colonel of the 10th legion threw up his command upon the refusal of his soldiers to arrest a gentleman in plain clothes who had uttered the popu-

lar cry. The colonels of the 2d and 3d legions went and informed the King, through the Duke de Nemours and General Jacquemenot, that if the required concessions were not made to public opinion, they could no longer answer for the men under their command. Repeatedly during the course of this day the National Guard interposed between the populace and the soldiers who were about to charge them. The commanding officers of the two corps would then hold a brief parley, after which the troops of the line would shoulder their arms and march off, followed by the acclamations of the people.

Immediately after the opening of the Chamber of Deputies on Wednesday, M. Vavin, one of the deputies for Paris, called upon the Minister of the Interior to account for the scenes then passing in the capital, and to explain why the National Guard had not been called out from the beginning. M. Guizot, on the part of his colleagues, declined answering these questions, but stated that the King had sent for Count Molé, and empowered him to form a ministry. After the commotion produced by this announcement had subsided, Odillon Barrot moved the adjournment of the proposition for an impeachment. He was seconded by M. Dupin, who observed that, until their successors were in office, the out-going ministry were responsible for the conduct of the public affairs, and he knew not how they could attend at the same time to the re-establishment of order and to the care of their own safety. Nothing could be more reasonable; but M. Guizot disdained to accept any voluntary concession at the hands of his antagonists. "As long as the cabinet is upon these benches," he said, "no business need remain suspended." In these, the last words of his official life, was embodied the whole concentrated force of his indomitable pride,—“Pride,” says De Cormenin, “of which his soul is too full to leave room for any other

sentiment. He might be thrust head-foremost into the ocean, and he would not admit that he was drowning, so violent and desperate is the faith with which he believes in his own infallibility." The Conservative majority voted to a man against the adjournment, and the Chamber broke up in clamorous confusion.

As the report of the fall of the Guizot cabinet spread through Paris, it was followed by an immediate cessation of hostilities. By seven o'clock the general aspect of the capital was peaceable; the people were in high glee, and readily gave up the prisoners they had made during the day. Still the defenders of the barricades between the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin were not content to accept a Molé administration as satisfaction in full for the popular demands. They doubted the good faith of the court, and in these sentiments they were confirmed by many ardent Republicans of the better classes, who had mingled among them with blouses drawn over their clothes. Sentinels, therefore, were posted at every issue, and the malcontents passed the night within their fortified camp.

Elsewhere all was joy and good humor, except in the hearts of the disappointed Republicans, who bitterly bewailed the easy credulity of the people. After dark there was a general illumination, and the streets were thronged with curious spectators of all ages, sexes, and conditions. Here and there a few unlighted houses, black specks amid the general brightness, typified the sullen temper of their inmates; but they, too, were forced by the populace to do like their neighbors, and not a house at the court end remained unilluminated, except the official residence of M. Hébert, and that of M. Guizot, on the Boulevard des Capucines. The latter continued to be as strongly guarded as ever, both within and without, although the troops had elsewhere been gradually withdrawn after the announce-

ment of the change of ministry. The strong display of military force outside the building was now quite superfluous, and therefore highly impolitic; for it is a maxim, which the greatest military authority of modern times has constantly enforced, both by precept and example, that in civil commotions the soldiery should be kept invisible, except at the precise moment when there is need of their active services. From the violation of this sound principle in the present instance ensued a catastrophe that sealed the doom of the Orleans dynasty.

A crowd of casual spectators had stopped, about ten o'clock, near M. Guizot's house, attracted by the shouts of a few men and boys who wanted the inmates to light up. Just then a dense column of students and artisans came down the Boulevards—singing and shouting in honor of the popular victory. They were unarmed, showed no disposition to outrage, and, so far from appearing to entertain any revolutionary projects, many of them cried out "*Vive Louis Philippe!*" as lustily as they vented their execrations on his late minister. At the moment they had come within a few yards of the soldiers of the 14th Regiment, stationed before the hotel, a shot was heard. Instantly the whole line fired without warning along the Boulevards, making frightful carnage among the throng. More than a hundred persons, who saw the soldiers level, threw themselves on the ground in time to save their lives, but sixty-two men, women, and lads, belonging to every class of society, lay weltering in their blood. A squadron of Cuirassiers then charged, sword in hand, over the dead and wounded. The survivors fled in all directions to carry the frightful tidings to the most distant parts of the city. By and bye, ashamed of what they had done, the soldiers allowed the dead and dying to be removed. Seventeen unclaimed bodies were laid in a large cart, and, with torches flaming over

the ghastly spectacle, the cart was dragged through the streets by a multitude raging and howling for revenge. No half-measures now! No compromise with a detested system! Nothing but the extinction of the monarchy could expiate the guilt of that treacherous, cold-blooded massacre! As fast as the procession moved on, the street was closed behind it with barricades. Up rose the blood-red Republican flag; the drums of the National Guard were heard without ceasing the whole night long; the tocsin sounded from the church of St. Sulpice, summoning the inhabitants of the faubourgs; detachments went from house to house asking for arms, which being freely given them, the receipt was notified by an inscription in chalk on the door,—“*On a donné des armes!*”^{*} Not less than 150,000 men passed the night in preparing for battle. By next morning the streets were intersected by upwards of two thousand barricades, of the most formidable strength and dimensions.

The explanation given by the repentant officer who had commanded the fatal volley before the Hotel des Affaires Etrangères, was that his horse's leg having been broken by the shot fired at the moment the crowd arrived, he thought they were come to attack him, and, in a rash moment, he gave the order to fire. It has never been officially declared by whom the first shot was fired: the story told by the *National* and repeated by the other Republican journals, was that a musket had gone off by accident in the garden of the hotel; but it has since been very generally asserted, and without contradiction, so far as we are aware, that the act was deliberately done by Lagrange, the condemned Lyons conspirator of 1832, afterwards a member of the National Assembly. This man is said

* “They have given arms.”

to have avowed, that, finding affairs were likely after all to take a favorable turn for royalty, he adopted this desperate expedient in order to rouse the angry passions of the multitude.

The attempt to establish a Molé administration having failed, the King sent very late on Wednesday night for M. Thiers, who undertook to form a ministry, on condition that he might associate with him M. Odillon Barrot. The King had previously signed a decree appointing Marshal Bugeaud commander-in-chief of all the forces in Paris, both civic and military; but, upon the refusal of the new ministry to grant him unlimited powers, the marshal resigned, and was replaced by General Lamoricière.

Hostilities were renewed at day-break, on Thursday, and for several hours discharges of musketry were heard in various directions, where the insurgents were contending with small bodies of the Municipal Guard. The troops of the line, too, were partially engaged, but the greater part of that force was already lost to the Government. Exhausted by more than fifty hours of harassing duty; left without rations through the besotted negligence of the authorities, and saved from the pangs of hunger and thirst only by the bounty of the people; finally, seeing the National Guard now thoroughly identified with the insurgent cause, whole regiments reversed their muskets and gave up their ammunition to the people: several companies even surrendered their arms.

A little before eight o'clock the new ministers walked down the Boulevards to the Tuileries, passing singly through the narrow openings left at the ends of the huge barricades that obstructed every avenue. They were loudly cheered. Two hours later, Odillon Barrot gave orders in person, in the Rue Richelieu, to a troop of Dragoons and the 21st Regiment of the line, to retire to their barracks. Here again he was favorably

greeted, but as he proceeded on his way his reception grew colder. His voice was drowned by shouts of "Down with Louis Philippe!" "Hurrah for the Republic!" and that cry, once begun, was repeated without ceasing from one end of Paris to the other. At eleven o'clock, copies of a proclamation were posted in every street, announcing that orders had been given to cease firing; they were torn down almost as fast as posted.

The insurgents, now in undisputed possession of all Paris, except the Palais Royal and the Tuileries, began at twelve o'clock to concentrate their forces on those points. The Palais Royal was taken without a blow, but the little square in front of the main entrance was the scene of an awful conflict. The northern side of the Place du Palais Royal, opposite the façade of the palace, was occupied by the Château d'Eau, an oblong stone building of great strength, in which were posted one hundred and thirty-eight soldiers of the 14th Regiment of the line, and some Municipals. Many overtures were made to induce these men to retire; but no arguments or entreaties could make them swerve from what they deemed the strict line of duty and honor. After much parleying to no purpose, the attack began at half past twelve, and from that hour to half past one the firing was incessant. The loss sustained by the assailants was very great, for they fought without cover, exposed to the steady discharges of the besieged at point blank distance. At last a number of carriages, dragged from the royal stables, were run up to the walls of the post, straw mattresses and fagots were heaped over and round them, and the whole were fired. Again the soldiers were entreated to surrender and save their lives; they answered only with their muskets, wounding General Lamoricière himself, who, with brave humanity, had gone close up to them and commanded them to desist. The flames

at length laid hold of the building in two places ; but still its defenders continued to pour volley after volley, until the floor was burning beneath their feet. They then tried to rush out at the gate, but were shot down or bayoneted in the attempt, and not a man of them escaped. The firemen who afterwards explored the smouldering ruins of the Chateau d'Eau took out from them the remains of fifty-three bodies. The rest of the garrison must have been wholly consumed, for the statement that some of them had escaped by a back-way is contradicted by the fact that none such existed.

From the fall of the Chateau d'Eau to the flight of Louis Philippe scarcely a quarter of an hour elapsed. It was fortunate for him and his family that the insurgents had not at once assailed the Tuileries, instead of allowing themselves to be kept in check for an hour by the little garrison in the Place du Palais Royal. The interval was spent by the ministers, deputies, and others about the King, in urging him to abdicate, as the only means left by which he might save, not only the rights, but the lives of his family. The troops collected for the defence of the Tuileries consisted of three or four thousand infantry, with six pieces of cannon, two squadrons of cavalry, and some Municipals. Had this force been well affected, it might have made a formidable, but hardly a successful resistance. The King, however, having himself reviewed the troops at eleven o'clock that morning, had been enabled to judge from the jaded looks of the men, and from the spiritless tone in which they uttered the customary cry of "*Vive le Roi !*"* how little they were to be depended on. The arguments in favor of an abdication derived terrible cogency from the loud and increasing roar of musketry within gunshot of the palace, and wrung a tardy assent from the infatuated monarch. He signed

* "Long live the King."

the act transferring the crown to his grandson, under the regency of the Duchess of Orleans ; yet still, as if loath to quit the scene of his vanished greatness, he lingered idly in the palace until he could no longer remain without imminent peril of life. The troops were retreating from the palace-yard, by order of the Duke de Nemours, and columns of combatants from the Château d'Eau were already rushing into the Place du Carrousel, when Louis Philippe and the Queen made their exit on foot from the palace, by the door opening on the gardens. They had reached the very spot where Louis XVI. perished on the scaffold, when they were hemmed in and compelled to halt by a sudden pressure of the crowd. Louis Philippe turned round quickly, held up his hat in the air, and uttered some words which were inaudible amid the uproar. An officer, seeing the danger, cried out, "Messieurs, spare the King !" To which a stentorian voice replied, "We are not assassins—let him go !" "Aye, aye, let him go !" became the general cry. The fugitives then hurried to a spot where stood two low one-horse carriages ; the King and Queen stepped into one of them, and drove off at full gallop towards St. Cloud, escorted by about two hundred cavalry.

The populace were too busy to pursue them, if indeed, the thought of shedding uselessly the blood of the utterly fallen monarch ever crossed the mind of any among his victors. The ex-King might go unscathed, while the people were ransacking the still warm lair from which he had been routed. They scampered in grotesque triumph through the gorgeous rooms, lolled on the soft chairs and sofas, and seated themselves by turns on the throne, each impersonating for a moment his own most dignified conception of the sovereignty of the people. This ceremony ended, the covering of the throne, and the splendid banners and awnings that overhung it, were torn into shreds, which

were distributed as relics among the invaders, and the dismantled seat of extinct royalty was carried in long procession to the site of the old Bastile, and there smashed to atoms and burnt at the foot of the Column of July. Meanwhile, both in the Tuileries and the Palais Royal, every scrap of the King's personal property, every vestige of his individual existence—portraits, pictures, busts, statues, &c., were ruthlessly demolished, and flung out of the windows to feed the bonfires blazing below; whilst in the apartments of the widowed Duchess of Orleans and of the Prince de Joinville, a tender and respectful feeling arrested the hands of the spoilers, and nothing was injured, or even displaced, except a half-eaten breakfast laid out on the Duchess's table, which was clean devoured by the famishing people. For the rest, the words *Propriété nationale*,* chalked on the walls or the floor, were sufficient to protect the contents of the rooms thus placed under the safeguard of the commonwealth. No peculation was tolerated. Every man as he left the building was narrowly searched by guards stationed round it by the people themselves, and instant death was the invariable doom of the detected thief. A sum of 331,000 francs, found in the strong-box of the Civil List, the crown diamonds, a large quantity of plate and jewels, and other articles of great value, were conveyed in safety to the Bank of France, by men who probably had not so many *sous*† among them as would have bought each of them a meal of bread.

So abrupt was the flight of the ex-King and Queen, that they were indebted for the means of continuing it to a contribution of 200 francs made by the officers at Trianon; but a further supply was secretly sent them on the following day by the Provisional Government. They

* "National property."

† The sou is a copper coin somewhat less than a cent in value.

arrived the same night at Dreux, where they were harbored by a trusty farmer ; and having disguised themselves in mean attire—the King without wig or whiskers, his features concealed under a red woollen comforter, and green spectacles—they travelled through byways, and by night to the coast, where an English steamer was waiting to receive them. Stormy weather prevented their embarkation for two days ; but on Thursday evening, March 2, they left the shores of France, and landed at noon next day at Newhaven. The Dukes de Nemours and Montpensier, and their wives, had previously arrived in England, after various adventures in their scattered flight ; and the Prince de Joinville and the Duke d'Aumale came some weeks afterwards from Algeria.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE.

FROM THE REJECTION OF THE ORLEANS DYNASTY TO THE OPENING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

THE Chamber of Deputies assembled on the 24th February, to receive the King's abdication, and ratify the appointment of the Regent. About half-past one o'clock the Duchess of Orleans entered with her two sons, and the Dukes of Nemours and Montpensier. Their presence excited some threatening murmurs in the crowd that surrounded the building, but the feelings manifested within doors were generally those of respect and sympathy. When M. Dupin announced that the King had abdicated in favor of his grandson, and had appointed the Duchess of Orleans to be Regent, the intimation was received with mingled cries of approbation and displeasure, the former greatly predominating; but clear above the din was heard one sonorous voice proclaiming the fatal sentence—"It is too late!"

When some degree of quiet was restored, M. Marie was heard urging the necessity of appointing a Provisional Government, on the ground that it was not competent to the Chamber to repeal the law by which the Regency had been already conferred on the Duke of Nemours. M. Crémieux spoke to the same effect, and warned the Chamber not to follow the disastrous example of the Chamber of 1830, which had usurped

the powers of a constituent assembly. Odillon Barrot advocated the claims of the Duchess of Orleans and her son, in language that seemed in unison with the feelings of the larger portion of the Deputies. M. de la Rochejaquelein, the leader of the Legitimists, insisted that the choice of a new Government belonged of right to the nation itself, and not to the Chamber; but he had not uttered many sentences when a vast crowd of armed men rushed in tumultuously, and occupied the floor, the Deputies' benches, and the tribune, shouting out, "No King!" "*Vive la République!*"

The President having put on his hat, in token of the suspension of the proceedings, the uproar became still more violent. "Off with the hat!" resounded on all sides; muskets were pointed at the President's head, and for some moments a general massacre appeared inevitable. In the midst of the confusion several Deputies and National Guards threw themselves between the mob and the Duchess of Orleans, and hurried her off by a private door. The Duke de Nemours jumped out of a window into the garden, where he exchanged his lieutenant-general's uniform for that of a private in the National Guard.*

The President still retained his seat, notwithstanding the imminent peril to which he was exposed; and the debate was renewed in the wildest disorder, deputies and strangers shouting together to obtain a hearing, the mob bellowing, and flourishing their weapons. Ledru Rollin having presented himself at the tribune, there was some abatement of the clamor, and he was enabled to inveigh against the project of a Regency, and to demand a Provisional Government,—not named by the Chamber, but by the people. Lamartine was then

* The Duchess of Orleans passed the night at the Hôtel des Invalides, and did not leave Paris until the following Wednesday; when she departed for Germany, escorted to the frontier by M. Marrast, Member of the Provisional Government.

called for on all sides, and listened to with unanimous approbation whilst he insisted on a direct appeal to the decision of the nation, and deprecated, in allusion to the mistake committed in 1830, any recourse "to those subterfuges—to those surprises—to those emotions of which, as you perceive, a country sooner or later repents, in order to maintain one of those fictions which have no stability, and which leave no solid traces behind them." He was proceeding in this strain when a furious knocking was heard at the door of one of the galleries. In a moment more it was battered down, and a multitude of armed men rushed in, shouting "Down with the Chamber! down with the Deputies!" and levelling their muskets at the persons in the body of the chamber. One man pointed his musket at the tribune, but was immediately checked by cries of "Do not fire! it is M. de Lamartine who is speaking." The President now declared the Chamber adjourned, and withdrew. So ended the last sitting of the Chamber of Deputies.

The miscellaneous concourse that now thronged the hall carried the veteran Radical, Dupont de l'Eure, to the chair, and the form of proposing and voting the names of the members who should constitute the Provisional Government was gone through in the midst of indescribable noise and confusion. The names proclaimed were those of Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and Crémieux. A procession was then formed to conduct the Provisional Government, with Lamartine at its head, to the Hôtel de Ville, and the chamber was gradually evacuated. But before the crowd dispersed, Louis Philippe was shot in effigy by a workman, who sent the contents of a double-barrelled fowling-piece through a large picture representing the Citizen King in the act of swearing fidelity to the Charter.

When Lamartine and his colleagues arrived at the

Hôtel de Ville, they found it already occupied by a Provisional Government which had been nominated in the offices of the *Réforme* and the *National* newspapers, and which claimed supreme authority by the very same title as its rival, namely, the suffrages of an indefinite multitude of the armed people. Three names, those of Arago, Lamartine, and Ledru Rollin, were common to both lists. A contest between the other claimants would have been followed by consequences incalculably disastrous ; it was therefore wisely resolved that the two embryo governments should coalesce, and accordingly Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Albert, were added to the Provisional Government, first as Secretaries, and afterwards as ordinary members.

The scenes which followed the installation of the Provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville were no less turbulent than that in which the Chamber of Deputies had been swept away. The mob poured into every part of the building, clamorously intruding even into the council-room of their elected rulers, and leaving them scarce breathing space for their deliberations. Still the Provisional Government pursued its labors, not always judiciously, but with a prompt and comprehensive attention to the various exigencies of the moment, which was marvellous in men so harassed in body and mind. For sixty hours the members sat continually, drawing up decrees and proclamations, and issuing orders for the furtherance of every branch of the public service, whilst often in the midst of these prodigious exertions they had to hurry out and answer for their lives to the questioning of fresh hosts of passionate and suspicious inquirers. Among their earliest measures the following may be mentioned as pregnant with the most important consequences :—The abolition of the penalty of death for political offences ; the re-adoption of the tricolor, which had been for a while supplanted by the ill-omened red flag ; the creation of

National Workshops ; the appointment of a Government Commission for Workmen, under the presidency of Louis Blanc and Albert ; and the creation of twenty-four battalions of the Garde Mobile. The soldiers of this new force, receiving the high pay of thirty sous a day, four times as much as the soldiers of the line, all belonged to that singular class the *gamins de Paris*, genuine tiger-monkeys, delighting in the smell of gunpowder, foremost in every fray, and ready for every kind of mischief, from mere exuberance of animal spirits and want of better occupation. How wisely Lamartine acted in enlisting these brave lads on the side of order was proved on many trying occasions : to them chiefly did Paris and France owe their salvation on the dreadful days of June.

The Republic was at once proclaimed, and was accepted by all classes with an unanimity for which there is hardly a parallel in history. Not a voice was raised in behalf of the fallen dynasty ; a week after the revolution, Louis Philippe was no more talked of than Hugh Capet. Never until the fall of the Citizen King had reversed all precedents, never could it have been believed that the worst of monarchs could be deposed without leaving behind him some party to work openly or in secret for his restoration ; but the day after Louis Philippe was shuffled off the throne there was not even the nucleus of an Orleanist party in France. Was there ever a more eloquent apology than was pleaded by this fact in behalf of the Revolution of February ?

Previously to February the Republican Party was but a small minority. It was not, therefore, by reason of any strong predilection felt for that form of government by the nation at large, that the Republic was accepted unanimously and without hesitation ; but because it was instinctively perceived that nothing but a Republic was possible under existing circumstances.

No better foundation could rational men have desired for the new institutions than this favorable disposition, this dispassionate conviction, entertained by the whole nation ; but it did not satisfy the imperious zeal of a handful of political fanatics and schemers, who, arrogating to themselves and their partisans the exclusive title of true Republicans, insisted on coercing all the rest of the population. Resentment and reaction were the natural and inevitable results, and France lost, for the consolidation of her Republic, an opportunity unique in the annals of the world.

There were three distinct parties in the Provisional Government,—*Moderates* : Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Marrast, Dupont de l'Eure, Garnier Pagès, Crémieux. *Ultras* : Ledru Rollin, Flocon. *Socialists* : Louis Blanc, Albert. Strong as was the majority on the Moderate side, it was often compelled by the inevitable force of circumstances to make dangerous concessions to the minority. For a long while the Provisional Government was quite unsupported by any armed force : the troops of the line had been removed from Paris : the National Guard was undergoing a vast process of reconstruction, and existed only as a disorganized mass ; the Garde Mobile was an infant institution ; in fine, the people were more masters of the Government than the Government of the people.

The Socialists were the most dangerous section of the Government minority. The affair of the red flag was the first on which they displayed their pernicious tendencies. On the 24th of February a man, "instigated," says M. Goudchaux, "by Louis Blanc, proposed the red flag ; Lamartine resisted the proposal, and it was rejected. Next day, when Louis Blanc came to the council, a red flag was produced, and generally accepted at his instance ; but M. Goudchaux vehemently declared that it should not be so, and he laid down his portfolio. Louis Blanc said there would be bloodshed,

and that M. Goudchaux would have to answer for it with his head; he accepted that responsibility." To Lamartine France owes the suppression of that horrid emblem, the admission of which would have been a virtual surrender of the Republic into the hands of men who would have established a new reign of terror. Five times on the 25th of February he confronted as many furious mobs that broke into the Hôtel de Ville, threatening the members of the Provisional Government with instant death if the colors of '92 were not adopted. Lamartine spoke, and all held their breath to listen, spell-bound in the very whirlwind of their passions by his genius and intrepidity. Never did eloquence win a nobler victory than his, when, with swords brandished round him, and muskets levelled at his head, he uttered these touching words,—“Never will I adopt the red flag; for the tricolor has gone the round of the world with the Republic and the Empire, with your liberties and your glories, whilst the red flag has only gone the round of the Champ de Mars, trailed through the blood of the people.” The effect of this imagery was electrical; the fierce multitude were affected to tears, and left the place vowing to live and die under the tricolor flag, and filled with love and veneration for its high-souled defender.

Defeated in the affair of the red flag, the Socialists next demanded the immediate appointment of a Minister of Labor, whose business it should be to realize Louis Blanc's visionary theories. The Government refused to decree the “Organization of Labor,” declaring by the mouth of Lamartine that the doctrine so called was to them incomprehensible, and that as honest men they could not enter into an engagement with the people which they had no hope of fulfilling. By way of compromise, however, and perhaps with the intention of relieving themselves from the constant presence of two of their least desirable members, the

Government instituted, on the 28th of February, the Workman's Commission. This new parliament, sitting in the palace of the Luxembourg, became at once a despotic trades' union, armed with legislative powers, and a normal school for the propagation of principles subversive of the rights both of labor and of capital. M. Louis Blanc's scheme for the organization of labor was briefly this: 1. The Government was to found social factories, workshops, &c., and gradually to become the sole employer of all the artisans in the land; 2. thereby abolishing competition. 3. All persons employed in these workshops were to receive equal wages, without regard to their respective skill and assiduity. 4. All profits on capital, beyond legal interest, were to be extinguished.

The positive enactments issued from the Luxembourg were such as might have been expected from the above programme. On the 1st and 2d of March decrees were signed by Louis Blanc and Albert, fixing the duration of a day's labor at ten hours, and abolishing *marchandage*; that is, the customary interposition of sub-contractors between the capitalist and the workman, without which the two latter would in most cases be left to seek each other in vain. The Commission also took upon itself to regulate the amount of wages in several trades, always, of course, to the apparent advantage of the workmen. The natural result was speedily seen in the closing of many establishments, and the discharge of all the hands employed in them. Meanwhile the unfortunate dupes of the Blanc system of economy were laboring with might and main still further to annihilate the means by which they lived. A rigorous proscription was declared against all foreign workmen, especially the English, who were hunted out of the country without time being allowed them to obtain the arrears of wages due to them, or to dispose of their household effects. Under the reign of Liberty,

Fraternity, and Equality, French Republicans repeated the cruel and stupid blunder committed by the bigoted Spaniard of the seventeenth century, in the expulsion of the Moors, and with consequences no less disastrous to themselves.

The creation of the *Ateliers nationaux*,* founded about the same time as the Luxembourg Commission, has been erroneously imputed to Louis Blanc. These crude substitutes for a poor-law were forced upon M. Marie, the Minister of Public Works, by the pressing exigencies of the times. The stoppage of trade caused by the revolution had deprived thousands of workmen of bread; to leave them to hunger and despair would have been no less impolitic than inhuman: accordingly the *Ateliers nationaux* were established upon the plan submitted by M. Emile Thomas to the assembled mayors of Paris. Had the problem been to create an army of mercenary mutineers, it could not have been more successfully solved than by that gentleman. The recruits were enrolled in squads, brigades, companies, battalions, services, and arrondissements. Each squad consisted of ten men and a *chef d'escouade*.† Five squads formed a brigade, commanded by a brigadier; four brigades a company, commanded by a lieutenant; four companies a battalion, commanded by a *chef de bataillon*; three battalions a service, commanded by a *chef de service*. At the head of each of the twelve arrondissements of Paris there was a field officer, having under him a variable number of services. The central board of management, installed at Monceaux, alone employed two hundred and fifty clerks and other functionaries, and yet the accounts were kept in the most slovenly manner. The system of payment was so ill-contrived, that in many instances the same man ob-

* National Workshops.

† Commander of the Detachment.

tained pay in two, three, or four different squads ; and the officers, both chief and subaltern, could easily embezzle indefinite sums. A census, taken on the 7th of June, showed only an effective force of 105,000 men, and even this was perhaps an exaggerated estimate, whereas the pretended number for whom the state had paid up to that day was 119,000. Furthermore, a very large per centage of the actual number necessarily consisted of criminals of various degrees, from the petty thief to the monster of wickedness, sent forth from the bagnios of Brest or Toulon. These men could not fail to obtain that ascendancy over their comrades which, in all undisciplined gatherings, belongs to the most audacious and unscrupulous. They became the leading spirits of the *ateliers*, and under their guidance it is easy to conceive how rapidly the moral character of the honest workmen must have deteriorated.

The chief employment found for the men of the *Ateliers nationaux* was earthwork—almost literally digging holes and filling them up again—at an expense of eight francs per cubic metre, which should have cost only as many sous. There never was real work for more than 2000 men. Upon this 8000 men were nominally employed, at the rate of 14 francs a week ; all the rest were paid eight francs, in return for which nothing was required of them but that they should take the trouble to attend daily and receive their money. With this slight restriction they were free to spend their whole time in planning mischief in their clubs, and practising it by means of more or less riotous “demonstrations.” If, says M. Panisse, instead of creating the *Ateliers nationaux*, in which work was a fiction, the Government had lent its aid to the large industrial establishments, it would not have thrown every trade into confusion, and thus unconsciously produced one of the chief causes of the insurrection of June. If half the sum that was *lost* upon unproductive

works had been *lent* to the great firms, the workmen would then have been profitably employed each in his proper place; order would have been maintained; the rich would have recovered confidence; and business would have returned to its ordinary course.

Immediately after the downfall of the monarchy had given the Parisians unlimited freedom of meeting together, political clubs sprang up in all quarters of the city. Their number, which at one time exceeded 140, fluctuated considerably; but we may reckon an average of a hundred clubs with a thousand members each, sitting nightly during the first months of the Republic to discuss the social and political questions of the day, take measures for the approaching elections, examine the candidates, and decide upon their respective merits. In the ultra-Republican clubs the candidates for the grade of field officer in the National Guards were invariably tried by one touchstone: they were required to answer categorically this question,—“If the Assembly be not republican in the fullest acceptation of the word, will you march against it?” The most dangerous of all the clubs were those respectively presided over by Blanqui and Barbès, the Central Club of the Society of the Rights of Man, and the Club of Clubs,—all of them armed confederations.

The Society of the Rights of Man had existed for many years; it numbered 20,000 members in Paris, 14,000 in the department of the Seine, and was essentially a permanent conspiracy. Its constitution, like that of the Jesuits, imposed on every member “the absolute abnegation of his individuality for the service of the Society; in return for which the Society pledges itself to stand up bodily to defend him if there be yet time, to avenge him if he be no more. * * The constitution of the Society being altogether military, the members must all hold themselves in constant readiness for service, whether in arms or otherwise,

whenever the Central Committee shall have so decreed. If any one fail to obey the call, he shall not be allowed to plead in excuse either family ties or his personal affairs," &c.

The Club of Clubs was a central institution composed of delegates from the other clubs, three from each. It particularly applied itself to secure the return of ultra-Republicans in the elections for the National Assembly, to which end it employed five or six hundred emissaries, who were sent to every town, village, and hamlet in France, and were paid each ten francs a day out of funds supplied by the Ministry of the Interior. This club was founded by Sobrier, and was held in his house, No. 16 Rue Rivoli, which he had converted into an arsenal. The Provisional Government having, on the 24th of February, appointed Caussidière to the Prefecture of Police, an office which Sobrier had destined for himself, the latter, with the consent of his successful rival, established a free corps, in nominal connexion with the regular police, but really independent of all authority but his own.

As far as regarded the repression of crimes against person and property, Caussidière's administration was the most efficient ever known in Paris. Never had the capital enjoyed such an immunity from the ordinary kinds of offences incident to great cities as during the two months and a half subsequent to the 24th of February. Caussidière's Republican Guard, and especially that favorite portion of it which he called his Montagnards, were a terror to all the thieves of Paris, and the more so because the prefect acted on the adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief;" or, to use his own expression, he made it his business to work out order through disorder. Unfortunately he pursued the same system in political matters, playing the part of a faction leader rather than of a magistrate, and acting upon his own individual views, without regard to those of the Govern-

ment, often too in direct opposition to them. "Up to the 15th of May," says M. Pagnerre, Secretary-general, "the Government had really no police, either in the Ministry of the Interior or in the Prefecture itself." The inveterate habits of the conspirator clung to the police minister, and a natural and mutual sympathy always subsisted between him and those who conspired against the Government under which he held office. Cunning, close, and secret, yet with an air of blunt, cordial sincerity, that disarmed suspicion; treated with indulgence by his superiors from necessity, as well as in consideration of his long services and sufferings for the Republican cause; beloved by the lower classes for his courage and soldierly bearing, his energy of character, his homely goodnature, his easy plebeian eloquence and rough motherwit; Caussidière was a man whom the Provisional Government could not have provoked without great danger, yet whom it was almost fatal to trust.

The evil effects of the Luxembourg Commission, the *Ateliers nationaux*, and the Clubs, were immensely aggravated by the reciprocal action of those pernicious institutions; and all three combined to inflict deadly injury on public and private credit, beggaring the national exchequer, annihilating the value of vast amounts of property, and destroying the main springs of industry. For the first fortnight after the 24th of February, the feeling of the Provisional Government as to the finances of the country, or at least the language they held, was that of high confidence, inso-much that they began paying in advance on the 6th of March the dividends due on the 22d. They had found a large balance in the Treasury—135,000,000 francs in specie, and 55,000,000 in securities. On the 7th of March the minister issued a proclamation, expressing no diminution of confidence, but recommending that the taxes should be paid in advance, as

a measure quite sufficient "to meet all the financial difficulties, to provide against which was an imperious dictate of prudence." But two days more brought a woeful change. A decree of the 9th of March suspended the payments of the Savings' Bank, the deposits in which amounted to 14,000,000 sterling. On the 15th, the bank of France suspended cash payments; and on the next day the treasury bonds, in circulation to the amount of nearly 11,000,000 sterling, were declared payable only in five per cent. stock at par, the price being then 69. Meanwhile bank after bank was failing, commercial paper ceased to be negotiable, gold and silver were hoarded or sent out of the country, and there was an end to all kinds of trade except in the merest necessities of life. To add to the perplexities of the Treasury, the contractors of the loan agreed for in November with the fallen Government threw up their contract, choosing rather to pay the stipulated forfeit of 1,000,000 sterling than to advance the 10,720,000*l.* that remained due on account of the loan. Finally, the Provisional Government were driven to the melancholy expedient of decreeing an addition of 45 per cent. to the direct taxes.

With Ledru Rollin for Minister of the Interior, the vast influence of that department was entirely in the hands of the party that invented the distinction between Republicans of the Eve and Republicans of the Morrow—*de la veille et du lendemain*; thus dividing the French into two hostile camps, or rather into a small dominant class on the one side, and on the other a subject class, comprising the great bulk of the nation. One of Ledru Rollin's first official acts was to despatch commissaries to every department and chief town of France, with *carte blanche* * to precipitate the work of the revolution in their respective dis-

* " Full power."

tricts. With the culpable negligence that marked his whole administrative career, the minister exercised no sort of previous inquiry into the merits of the persons whom he appointed to these important offices. The consequence was that, with a few honorable exceptions, the commissaries did their utmost to disgust and exasperate all honest men. In many towns the inhabitants were goaded into insurrection by their intolerable tyranny and knavery. The commissary for Havre was a criminal who had served out his time as a galley-slave.

M. Ledru Rollin's first circular to his commissaries was made public early in March. A single line from this lengthy document will be sufficient to account for the storm of indignation it excited. "What are your powers?—They are unlimited." It was worth while to have made a revolution, at an incalculable cost of public and private suffering, in order to pass under the unlimited powers of a M. Sauriac, or of his honorable colleague the ex-galley slave, commissary for Havre. It is true that Ledru Rollin was not the author of the outrageous circulars bearing his name, nor of the *Bulletin de la République*, a sort of placard newspaper, issued from the Ministry of the Interior, and which did almost as much mischief as the circulars. Jules Favre wrote the latter; the most offensive of the bulletins were the work of George Sand (Mme. Dudevant). These facts have been pleaded in apology for Ledru Rollin; to us they appear most damnatory, for they argue levity, negligence, and foolhardiness. Why did he delegate his own work to unfit hands, or to any hands but his own? Lamartine did not do so, though far more heavily tasked than his colleague. Why did he not even revise the documents he suffered to be published with his official sanction?

The indignation excited by the first circular was so great that Ledru Rollin would have been forced to re-

tire, but for an incident that turned the current of opinion altogether in his favor. This was a foolish and singularly ill-timed proceeding on the part of the ex-grenadiers and voltigeurs of the National Guard. These men belonged to the wealthier classes, were distinguished by certain badges, such as a bearskin cap, yellow epaulettes, &c., and claimed the right of selecting those who should be admitted into their ranks. These exclusive and aristocratic pretensions being clearly incompatible with the new order of things, it was decreed that, in the reconstruction of the civic force, the select companies should be broken up and fused with the general mass. The companies insisted on retaining their privileges, marched to the Hôtel de Ville, and preferred their demands to that effect in peremptory terms. They also mixed up the great political question of the circulars with their own paltry affair of yellow worsted, and concluded by stating that, if their wishes were not complied with, they would come armed the next day, March 16, to enforce them. They kept their promise, but found themselves anticipated and immensely outnumbered by their democratic comrades; and, after being sharply reprimanded by the Government, and hooted and jeered by the populace, they were glad enough to slink away with whole skins.

The first example of open sedition thus set by the *bourgeoisie** was quickly imitated by their antagonists. On the 17th an assemblage of nearly 200,000 men marched in orderly procession to the Hôtel de Ville, for the purpose, as they said, of encouraging the Government in its resistance to aristocratic dictation. In reality it was a demonstration planned by Caussidière, in concert with the leaders of the anarchical clubs, in

* This term is applied in France to the classes intermediate between the nobility and the laboring population.

order to overawe the moderate members of the Government. A deputation of about forty clubbists was received by the Provisional Government, and demanded that the elections for the National Guard and the Assembly should be postponed to a distant date. To prolong the interregnum was the constant policy of the anarchists, whilst Lamartine, and those who thought with him, were desirous to resign their provisional dictatorship as soon as possible into the hands of a regularly constituted authority. The members of the Government, not excepting Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, all spoke in firm and becoming language on this critical occasion, refusing to give any answer whatever to demands backed by a display of force. The crowd below was not yet fully ripe for mischief; some members of the deputation spoke in support of the Government, and the machinations of the anarchists were for that time defeated. Eventually the opening of the Assembly was postponed for a fortnight longer, in order to give time previously for the complete organization of the National Guard. The 15th of May showed that this was no superfluous precaution.

The foreign policy of the French Republic, as enunciated by Lamartine in his circular of the 4th of March, was dignified and pacific.* His declarations were in substance as follows:—France sincerely desires peace: if war must come, she at least will not have been the aggressor. She regards the treaties of 1815 as no longer existing *de jure*, but she admits the territorial limitations fixed by them as existing *de facto*, and as matters to be modified hereafter by common accord. She will not attack her unoffending neighbors, “nor exercise an underhand or incendiary propaganda among them;” she will not obtrude her aid where it is not desired; but she holds an army of observation in readiness to cross the Alps, upon the first cry for succor addressed to her by Switzerland or Italy.

All the cabinets of Europe have acknowledged the good faith of the Provisional Government in its foreign relations. Though it could not prevent the invasion of Belgium, Germany, and Savoy, by armed refugees from those countries, aided by some refractory Frenchmen ; yet on all such occasions it did its utmost to preserve the neutrality of the French territory, and hinder the abuse of its hospitality. In pursuing this honorable line of conduct, the Minister of Foreign Affairs had to contend sometimes, as in the case of the Poles, against his own sympathies and those of his nation ; sometimes, as in the Belgian affair, against the indiscretion of a colleague. Fifteen hundred Belgians set out from Paris about the end of March, to revolutionize their own country. The purpose of the expedition having been made known to M. Ledru Rollin by some pupils of the Ecole Polytechnique, who accompanied it, he said that, as a minister, he could not have a hand in the affair, though, individually, he approved of it : but he supplied the young men with money and a letter to the Government commissioner at Lille, and that functionary armed the legion with muskets surreptitiously procured from the arsenal, under pretence of arming the National Guard. Meanwhile, the Government, being informed of what was doing, gave warning to the Belgian authorities, and ordered back the Polytechnique students. The legion crossed the frontier, was met by a military force at Risquons-tout, and routed with considerable loss.

For a month after the dangerous crisis of the 17th of March, the Provisional Government was left to the enjoyment of comparative quiet, whilst the Parisians were occupied with the election of officers of the National Guard, or giving vent to their redundant vivacity in planting whole groves of poplars all over Paris, firing *feux-de-joie*, and compelling the inhabitants to il-

luminate in honor of the plantation and baptism of these "Trees of Liberty." But the conspirators of the clubs were not idle; they matured a plot to overthrow the moderate section of the Provisional Government, and substitute for it a so-called Committee of Safety. Two vast meetings were to be held on the 16th of April, one in the Champ de Mars, for the election of fourteen field-officers of the National Guard, and another in the Hippodrome, consisting of the men belonging to the *Ateliers nationaux*. The conspirators determined to avail themselves of the materials of insurrection thus collected, and march both bodies against the Hôtel de Ville.

But the Government had timely information of their designs. At six o'clock in the morning Lamartine sent messengers all over town to collect the National Guard, and such of the workmen as were well affected to the Government. At eleven o'clock Ledru Rollin, who indignantly repudiated all connexion with the conspiracy, called on Lamartine, and at his request instantly gave orders to beat the *rappel*. The other members of the Government were, meanwhile, taking such measures in their respective quarters as the exigency demanded; all except Louis Blanc and Albert, who have never accounted for their mysterious absence on that day from the post of duty. The call of the Government was responded to by 150,000 men of the National Guard, the Garde Mobile, the schools, the Faubourg St. Antoine, &c. The Hôtel de Ville was surrounded by an army of defence, the bridges were invested, and when the columns from the Champ de Mars, bearing on their banners incendiary mottoes dictated by Louis Blanc, had reached the Pont Neuf, they found the passage intercepted. At last a portion of them, being allowed to pass under good guard, presented themselves to the Provisional Government, protested their innocence of any hostile intention, and stated that

the purpose of demonstration was only to make an offering of money for the public service. The plot was crushed without a blow. When all was over, Louis Blanc made his appearance at the Hôtel de Ville.

Fortified by its bloodless victory of the 16th, the Provisional Government was now enabled to bring back the troops of the line to Paris, with the cordial approbation of the National Guard. On Thursday, April 20, was celebrated the grand Fête of Fraternity, in which eight regiments of cavalry, thirteen of infantry, three of artillery, and all the civic soldiers of Paris and the banlieue, defiled before the Provisional Government; and not a single instance of angry feeling disturbed the harmony of the day.

On the 23d all France was called to exercise the newly-acquired right of Universal Suffrage, in the election of 900 members of the National Constituent Assembly. The vast operation of receiving, classifying, counting, and reporting, the votes of nearly 10,000,000 electors, was completed within less than a week, and with a general quiet, facility, and precision, to which there were but few and unimportant exceptions. The result of the elections was highly favorable to the Moderate party, and totally at variance with the predictions of those theorists who held that violence must be the prevailing tone of a house elected by universal suffrage, and that its members would, for the most part, belong to the same class of society as the majority of the electors. Of 34 members returned for Paris and its department, 7 only were ultras, and among these the only Socialists were Louis Blanc and Albert. Lamartine headed the poll with 259,000 votes; the 24th and 27th on the list were Ledru Rollin (131,587) and Louis Blanc (120,140). Lamartine was returned for ten several departments by an aggregate of 2,000,000 of votes.

When the result of the elections was known, the anarchical faction flew to arms in Nantes, Amiens,

Marseilles, Rouen, and in one or two other towns ; but in all except the last named, they were put down with more or less facility. The insurrection of Rouen was not subdued without much bloodshed and two days' hard fighting (April 26 and 27), in which grape and cannon-shot were copiously used by the troops. The clubs of Paris took fire at this news, and issued inflammatory placards, denouncing the National Guards of Rouen as assassins, the Government as hostile to the people, and the elections as reactionary. In the council-room of the Government Louis Blanc moved that the two generals in command at Rouen should be arrested. The ferment continued to increase daily, and it was feared that the meeting of the representatives would be the signal for civil war.

Nevertheless, on the 4th of May, the National Constituent Assembly was installed under the most flattering auspices ; and the Provisional Government, in resigning its dictatorship, was enabled to declare, by the mouth of Lamartine :—

“We have passed forty-five days without any other executive force than that wholly unarmed moral authority which the nation was pleased to acknowledge in us.
* * * We have traversed more than two months of crisis, of suspended employment, of distress, of elements of political agitation and social anguish, accumulated immeasurably in a capital of a million and a half of inhabitants ; we have traversed all this without having to grieve over property violated, or one life sacrificed to passion, or one proscription, one political imprisonment, one drop of blood shed in our name in Paris ! Descending from this long dictatorship, we can go out and mingle with the people in the public streets, without fearing that any one shall call us to account in the name of a single citizen, and say to us, ‘What have you done with him ?’”

CHAPTER III.

FRANCE.

FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE
INSURRECTION OF JUNE.

LAMARTINE stood then in one of the loftiest positions of moral grandeur and well-earned popularity that ever rewarded the generous ambition of a patriotic statesman. The general voice of the country, and the wishes of a majority of the Assembly, designated him as the chief to whose hands should be committed the executive power of the Republic. He refused to accept the sole direction of the Government, and from that moment his popularity declined continually, until he descended to the rank of a mere representative. The vilest slanders were heaped upon him with unsparing assiduity; it was a labor of love for his malignant detractors, and many of his former admirers lent themselves too easily to the base work, betrayed by those vulgar impulses that oscillate between boundless admiration and unmeasured obloquy. Happily, no efforts of lying malice could long obscure the brightness of a fame as pure, if not as radiant with success, as that of Washington. It was a sight to make the angels weep, when a man like Lamartine, stifling the agony of shame and grief that rent his noble heart, sat down to clear himself of the charge of theft and corruption, and to show, by a detailed exposure of his pecuniary affairs, that he had

not served his country for lucre, but voluntarily sacrificed to the Republic, 26,000*l.* of his private fortune.

Not only did Lamartine refuse to become President *ad interim* of the Republic, but he declared that he would not belong to any executive commission from which Ledru Rollin should be excluded. This determination was very embarrassing to the Moderate party, and led them to entertain with some complacency the very objectionable scheme of having the ministers nominated directly by the Assembly. A committee reported in favor of this plan, and Odillon Barrot supported it. Now it is curious to observe how, in their fear and dislike of Ledru Rollin, these Moderates sought protection against him and his followers in the very system afterwards propounded by that individual himself on ultra-democratic principles. Ledru Rollin is of opinion that the Republic ought not to have any President, and that the President of the Council of Ministers should be the head of the Executive. Lamartine strenuously resisted the proposal made by the Committee, and his views were adopted by a majority of 28. Next day, May 10th, the following Executive Committee of five was appointed by ballot, the number of voters being 794:—

Arago	725
Garnier Pagès	715
Marie	702
Lamartine	645
Ledru Rollin	458

These figures are significant; they mark the dissatisfaction with which the Assembly assented to a coalition between the party of the majority and that of the ultra-Republicans. As for the Socialists, they were entirely excluded from the new Government; Louis Blanc and Albert sank down to the ordinary level of representatives, whilst all their colleagues in the late

Provisional Government took office, either as members of the Executive Commission, or as ministers under that body.

The policy adopted by Lamartine on this occasion was of such cardinal importance, that we must explain his motives in some detail.

Good as well as evil resulted from the heterogeneous character of the Provisional Government. All the leading forms of public opinion had their representatives in that body; and this, says M. Marie, "appears to me one of the causes that made it possible to maintain a Government until the opening of the National Assembly." Lamartine was of opinion that the infant Republic was not yet strong enough to emancipate itself with safety from the same condition of existence. He knew that, with all Ledru Rollin's errors, the intemperance of his language far outran that of his acts; that he was a man with whom it was possible for an earnest but discreet Republican to live in tolerable official harmony; that he repudiated all secret conspiracies; and, above all, that he had actually saved the country from a Socialist revolution on the 16th of April, by the promptitude with which he had given orders to beat the *rappel*.

"To take the Government upon myself alone," says Lamartine, "to the exclusion of all my Republican colleagues of the 24th of February, would have been to create on the instant in the National Assembly a majority and a minority rancorously opposed to each other,—to form two parties on the very first day, when I wished to blend them together, for a while at least, though it were but in appearance, in a patriotic and republican unity of action; it would have been to give leaders to those parties, and armies to those leaders. Intestine war in the head of the Republic could not fail to produce convulsions in the limbs. Once the majority and the minority had been sharply defined in

the Assembly, every discussion would have been a storm, and every storm would have had its echo and its repercussion out of doors. To divide the Assembly was to divide the Republic ; to divide it when it had but just begun to exist would have been to ruin it or plunge it into blood. For, in fine, I, as the Government, should have been obliged to choose between the majority and the minority. I, a newcomer of February, should have been obliged to rely exclusively on the party of the Morrow against the exasperated party of the Eve. The Republic in my hands would forthwith have fallen under the suspicions of the Republicans of February. They would have entered into conflict with her, backed by the tribune, the press, the clubs, the recently dismissed delegates of the Luxembourg, the army of 100,000 men of the *Ateliers nationaux*, the Bonapartists, the Terrorists, and the subversive Socialists—all recruited under their hands into one opposition phalanx. The National Assembly would have given battle to all these disciplined forces of disorder together. True : but vanquished, it would have been dissolved and replaced by an anarchical tyranny ; victorious, it would have been compelled to become violent, and to retrograde to the system of the Convention. In either way, the pacific, constitutional, and almost unanimous Republic, which we all desire, would have been lost, and my inconsiderate ambition would have been the cause of its ruin. * * * *

“ But, it is objected, ‘ You might at least have abstained from entering into the Executive Commission, and remained free and invulnerable in your isolation.’ ”

“ That is true ; every selfish consideration tended that way : I should have grown in the public eye by standing aloof ; my popularity would have remained entire, and I should have taken the easiest means to promote my own success as a candidate for any office. But what would have signified the most promising

candidateship when the Republic was no more? Now to me it is evident, that had I withheld my name, which was then significant and a bond between parties, from the composition of the Executive Commission, the National Assembly would have formed a Government of a single color, taken exclusively from among the men unjustly suspected of resentment against the Republic. It is evident, too, that such a Government would instantly have created in the Assembly that very antagonism and those very ruptures which, in my opinion, would destroy or ensanguine the Republic. I did not hearken to the counsels of selfishness; I consented, with a heavy heart, to annihilate myself, in order to combine in the Government every pledge of conciliation between the admissible statesmen of the various great parties of the Revolution.

“ ‘That is what has done all the mischief!’ I hear people exclaim. ‘That is what has done all the good, too!’ say I. That is what has effected that the factions have been, not destroyed, but decapitated and disunited; and that instead of your having to fight them in one compact mass before the hour of your strength, they have beset you with isolated and impotent attempts, over which the Republic has triumphed with you. That is what has effected that we have still the unanimity of the National Assembly in all vital questions for the preservation of society, property, and our native land. That is what has effected that we shall have it still for a long time to come; that we shall yet again become reconciled together in patriotic feeling on every day of danger; and that we shall extinguish with one common accord the sparks of dissension that are cast among us from without, but which we will not accept.”

One of those isolated and abortive attempts against the Assembly, to which Lamartine alludes in the above

extract, was made on Monday, May 15. On that day an immense multitude marched to the palace of the National Assembly, for the ostensible purpose of presenting a petition for immediate intervention in the cause of Poland. Orders had been given, in anticipation of this movement, to occupy all the approaches to the palace with strong bodies of the civic troops ; but these orders were grossly violated by General Courtais, who had been specially appointed on the preceding day, and at his own request, Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Paris. Instead of barring the way over the bridge (Pont de la Concorde), he made the troops form two parallel lines on the footpaths. The crowd passed over without hindrance, and Courtais then gave orders in person to the Garde Mobile on duty within the walls of the palace to sheathe their bayonets, and drop their ramrods into the barrels of their muskets to show that they were not loaded. Meanwhile he had opened the gate to admit the bearers of the petition. He has himself acknowledged this fact, but alleged in excuse that he was deceived by a promise that only twenty-five persons should enter. The court of the building was immediately filled, and about three or four hundred of the mob rushed into the interior, shouting and waving flags, striding over the benches on which the Deputies were seated, and scuffling with them for possession of the tribune. At length Raspail was seen standing there with the petition in his hand, but could not obtain a hearing, until Louis Blanc, with the formal permission of the President, spoke a few words, entreating silence, "*that the petition might be read ; that the right of petition might be consecrated ;* and that it might not be said that, on entering within those walls, the people had by its clamors violated its own sovereignty."

Raspail then began: "Citizens, we come in the name of 200,000 citizens, who are waiting at your

doors ——” Here his voice was again overpowered by the outcries of the indignant representatives ; the mob retorted with threats to turn out those who interrupted their spokesman ; Louis Blanc again interposed as a moderator, and the petition was read in dumb show. The President then requested the people to withdraw, in order that their petition might be taken into consideration, and Barbès, as a member of the Assembly, joined in this recommendation. Blanqui, however, insisted on making a speech ; and not confining himself to the subject of Poland, he harangued on the merciless butcheries in Rouen, and on the sufferings of the working classes. “ Give us a Ministry of Labor, with Louis Blanc at its head !” shouted the mob. Ledru Rollin endeavored to soothe them, and induce them to depart. “ The people,” he said, “ had made known their wishes with regard to Poland ; they should be attended to, and their Polish brethren assisted.” He then begged they would withdraw, and allow the Assembly to deliberate. “ You must not deliberate ; you must vote !” was their reply.

Whilst Blanqui was making his inflammatory speech within doors, his rival, Barbès, was addressing the mob outside from a balcony, with Albert by his side, and telling them that the doors should be thrown open, and the people should defile before the Assembly. Louis Blanc was then called for. He spoke with great animation ; and then the three friends, with their arms twined round each other, and one large flag forming a drapery for the group, remained for ten minutes before the applauding spectators, forming what a witness calls a sort of “ pose académique.”

Soon afterwards the multitude swarmed into the building, and the noise and confusion were terrific. The President and the representatives kept their seats, though threatened, insulted, and, in some instances, personally maltreated ; for the similar scene of Febru-

ary 24 was fresh in their recollection, and forbade them to stir. As soon as Barbès could obtain silence, he moved that a law should be passed imposing an extraordinary contribution of forty millions sterling on the rich for the benefit of the laboring classes. The mob having confirmed this motion by acclamation, next resolved that Louis Blanc should be created Minister of Labor, and carried him round the hall in triumph, in spite, as it appears, of his entreaties that they would desist. At last word was brought that the drums of the National Guard were beating to arms. Barbès called on the Assembly to decree that the people of Paris had deserved well of the country, and that whoever should order the *rappel* to be beaten should be declared a traitor; and the President, M. Buchez, was compelled, under fear of an immediate massacre of the representatives, to sign several notes countermanding the beating of the drums. Huber then ascended the tribune, and in the name of the people declared the National Assembly dissolved. Thereupon, at four o'clock, the President put on his hat and left the hall, followed by the rest of the members. Barbès and Sobrier were raised on the arms of the multitude, and, with loud *vivats* for the Democratic and Social Republic, the leading conspirators and a mass of their followers departed for the Hôtel de Ville.

Meanwhile the troops, paralysed by the defection of General Courtais, left without orders, and uncertain how to act, were still further dispirited by the news of the dissolution of the Assembly. M. Arago, however, went among them, and reassured them; and M. Dulong, the Minister of Finance, putting himself at the head of a battalion of the Garde Nationale and the Garde Mobile, drove out the intruders from the palace of the Assembly. General Courtais was taken prisoner, and his epaulettes were torn off and flung in his face by some of the men lately under his command. The

representatives returned to their places, and after a brief address from Lamartine, who had been carried to the tribune by the soldiers, he and Ledru Rollin mounted their horses, and rode to the Hôtel de Ville at the head of a column of troops, to attack the pseudo-Provisional Government. They entered without resistance, and in the identical room in which Robespierre and his associates were seized, they found Barbès, Albert, and other directors of the Social and Democratic Republic, in the act of issuing decrees. Sobrier was arrested in a *café*, after an ineffectual attempt upon the Ministry of the Interior, whither he had repaired with 100 of his armed Montagnards to instal himself as minister. His house was ransacked by the National Guard, and 300 muskets and a large quantity of ammunition were seized in it, besides seven draft decrees of the intended Committee of Safety. All the prisoners we have named, with about 130 of less note, were sent to Vincennes. Blanqui was not taken until the 26th. Huber, after being arrested, was allowed to escape altogether.

The criminal attempt of the 15th of May was committed almost without premeditation, except on the part of a very few ringleaders. Even Barbès does not appear to have been an accessory before the fact, but to have been carried away by a sudden impulse of jealousy when he saw himself about to be supplanted as chief demagogue by Blanqui, whom he detested. Of the multitude that formed the first procession to the Assembly a great majority were really actuated by no other feeling than sympathy for the Poles; a considerable number—among whom Raspail is, probably, to be included—sought only a pretext for enforcing the right of the people to present their petitions directly at the bar of the Assembly, as was customary under the Convention, and so bringing the national representatives under complete subjection to the clubs; but the ulti-

mate design of overthrowing the Government was the secret of a few, and was not divulged until the work was half done. Blanqui, Sobrier, and Huber were the chief promoters of the plot. Caussidière, Courtais, and others, lent it, at least, their passive assistance. Ledru Rollin's strong opposition to it is unquestionable, though even in remonstrating with the invaders of the Assembly he could not quite forego his inveterate habit of flattering the delusions and the unruly impulses of the multitude. Louis Blanc was guilty of the same fault in a far greater degree, but not, we believe, to the extent of actual treason. The evidence respecting him, published by the Commission of Inquiry on the affairs of May and June, is, in some respects, very conflicting. Three facts, however, it clearly establishes, namely, that when the mob rushed out of the palace to proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, his first care was to escape from the human torrent in which he was swept along; that he did not go to the Hôtel de Ville, though he expressed great anxiety about his friends there; and that no subsequent act of his that day betrayed the least complicity with the pseudo-Provisional Government.

On the day following, Caussidière offered the Assembly an explanation of his conduct; but it was deemed so unsatisfactory that he resigned, not only his office, but also his seat as a representative. The whole conduct of his Republican Guard was unequivocally hostile to the Government. "*Vive Barbès! Vivè Blanqui!*" they shouted in the hearing of their Prefect; and it was evident, that had the insurrection been successful the Montagnards would have formed its first *corps d'armée*. The Government dissolved the Republican Guard, but immediately reconstructed it with little alteration, except an increase of its numbers, and the addition of the word "Parisian" to its name.

It was not long before fresh commotions were occa-

sioned in Paris by the election of eleven representatives in lieu of those who had resigned, or who, having been doubly returned, had chosen to sit for some other department. The ballot took place on Sunday, the 4th of June, without much excitement, and the result was made known on the 8th. The names of the successful candidates made up a list of the most motley complexion, betokening the confusion into which public opinion had fallen. First stood Caussidière; then came Moreau, Goudchaux, and Changarnier, moderate Republicans; Thiers, dreaded as the ablest representative of the old system, was fifth. The next two were Pierre Leroux, the dreamy founder of the Humanitarian school, and Victor Hugo, a political cipher, notwithstanding his literary renown. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was the eighth; and the list ended with Lagrange, who had provoked the massacre of the Boulevard des Capucines; Boissel, the projector of the February banquet; and Proudhon, a subtle propounder of social paradoxes, one of whose maxims is, "that property is robbery."

Among the names that had been put forward was that of the Prince de Joinville; and it was known that a large number of votes would be recorded in his favor. To prevent this unpleasant contingency, the Executive Commission took care to have a law passed on the 26th of May, banishing the whole Orleans branch of the House of Bourbon, and rendering its members incapable of serving France in any capacity.

Louis Napoleon occasioned the Government much more serious uneasiness. The law of banishment against the Bonaparte family had been repealed; three of its members already held seats in the National Assembly; and the emperor's heir, elected by four different departments, including that of the capital, could only be excluded by a special act of ostracism. On the 12th, Lamartine gave notice of a motion to that effect, and

the whole Assembly rose and testified their approval in a shout of "*Vive la République!*" This was done under a false impression that shots had been fired at the National Guard by persons who cried "*Vive l'Empereur!*" It was true that riots were committed, seditious cries uttered, and incendiary proclamations put forth by the prince's partisans; but the only blood drawn was that of an awkward civic soldier, who wounded himself by the accidental discharge of his own pistol. The real facts being known, the Assembly voted on the 13th, by a vast majority, for the admission of the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. On the 15th they showed every disposition to rescind that vote, in their indignation at a letter from the Prince, received that day by the President. The passage which gave so much offence was the following:—*If the people impose duties on me, I shall know how to fulfil them;* but I disavow all those who have made use of my name to excite disturbance." But all was made good again by another letter, dated London, June 15th, in which Bonaparte tendered his resignation rather than be the involuntary cause of disorder.

From the moment there existed a regularly constituted sovereign Assembly, the Executive was bent on eradicating those noxious institutions and usages which the weakness of a provisional authority had been compelled to tolerate. On the 12th of May, it was resolved that the lists of the *Ateliers nationaux* should be closed, and no more workmen admitted; that the men belonging to such private workshops as had been reopened should return to them; and that the unmarried men, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, should have their choice, either to be drafted into the army or dismissed. Arrangements were made for sending bodies of men to work in the provinces. An attempt to introduce the system of task-work was also

made, but, unfortunately, in fixing the rate of pay, the performance of the weakest hands, such as painters and printers, was taken as a standard, so that it was easy for the more robust to earn fifteen or sixteen francs a day.

The endeavors to reduce the number of hands on the *Ateliers nationaux* were strenuously counteracted by Emile Thomas, the manager of the institution, who hoped to be elected to the Assembly by the votes of his 100,000 men. The Government removed him by stratagem, hurrying him off under pretence of a special mission to Bordeaux, and there keeping him in arrest until his successor had been installed in office. The men of the *ateliers* mutinied, and began to hold riotous assemblages in the streets; but the Executive Commission put in force a law it had procured against such gatherings, and 800 rioters were arrested in one night.

The Executive Commission, and especially Lamartine, have been most unjustly accused of not foreseeing and providing against the outbreak of June. Lamartine distinctly foretold what was coming, and was indefatigable in his efforts to prevent the impending calamity. The means he proposed were twofold:—to concentrate a large military force in and round Paris, and to disperse the workmen through the provinces in small bodies, provided with steady employment of a useful kind. His anxiety to accomplish this last object appears to have blinded him to the iniquity of the scheme for the appropriation of all the railways by the State. He was most earnest in recommending that measure as the only hopeful means of avoiding a bloody conflict, not considering that it wanted two conditions, without which it could only be an act of arbitrary spoliation. The price at which the railways were to be taken out of the hands of their proprietors was to be fixed, not by an impartial jury, but by the Govern-

ment itself, and the shareholders were not to be paid in cash, but to be forced to sell on credit to an almost bankrupt State.

On the 20th of May, the Government decreed that the garrison of Paris should consist of 20,000 men of the line, 15,000 of the Garde Mobile, 2600 Republican Guards, and 2850 *Gardiens de Paris*, besides 15,000 of the line in the various posts within a few hours' march of the capital; in all, 54,650 bayonets. It was further ordered, that in case of serious danger the Minister of War, General Cavaignac, should take the command of the forces of every kind in Paris. Again, on the 8th of June, Lamartine used these remarkable words in council,—“We are approaching a crisis. It will not be a riot, or a battle, but a campaign of several days, and of several factions combined. The National Assembly may, perhaps, be forced for a while to quit Paris. We must provide for these contingencies with the energy of a republican power. The 55,000 men sufficient for Paris would not suffice to bring back the national representation into the capital. I demand, besides a series of decrees of public security, that the Minister of War immediately order up to Paris 20,000 men more.” This proposal was unanimously adopted: and thus, a fortnight before the insurrection broke out, the Government had made arrangements to bring 75,000 bayonets to the support of the National Guard of 190,000 men. General Cavaignac carried the orders of the Government into effect as fast as quarters could be provided. Lamartine every day inquired as to the arrival of the troops, and was told, “The orders have been given, and the troops are in movement.” Taking into account the effective strength of the Garde Mobile, the Garde Républicaine, and the *Gardiens de Paris*, the effective number of the garrison in and around the capital at the end of June was 45,000 men.

Meanwhile the thunder-clouds were visibly gathering,

but it was not expected that the storm would burst before the 14th of July. On that day, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile, the Red Republicans had arranged to hold a banquet, tickets for which were to be issued at the price of five sous each. By this means it was calculated that at least 150,000 men would be brought together, and that, whether they dined or not, they would not separate without fighting. Disconcerted, however, by the active measures taken by the Government to break up the *Ateliers nationaux*, certain of the conspirators resolved, suddenly and prematurely, on the 22d of June, to begin the action on the following day.

On Thursday, the eve of the insurrection, at ten o'clock in the morning, M. Marie instructed M. Recurt, Minister of the Interior, to arrest fifty-six delegates of the *Ateliers nationaux*, who were then in the Jardin des Plantes. These men, and the chiefs of the Society of the Rights of Man, were the actual leaders of the insurrection. The delegates were allowed to walk about openly all day, and the writs against them were not put into the hands of the Prefect of Police until noon on the 23d, when they were already behind the barricades. That functionary has formally deposed, that had he been authorized to arrest the delegates and the chiefs of the club, "he would undoubtedly have prevented the insurrection."

Two plans for putting down the expected outbreak were severally proposed. The Executive Committee was for spreading the troops over the capital, and preventing the erection of barricades. General Cavaignac's system was the reverse of this, and consisted in concentrating his forces at certain points, and bringing them into action in large masses. The insurrections of July, 1830, and February, 1848, had been treated by the existing governments as a sort of larger street riots, to be quelled in a police fashion. He treated

that of June as an outbreak of civil war, and met it in true order of battle. Those two examples proved to him, he said, "the necessity of not spreading the troops through the streets, but of advancing them in compact bodies, and in such numbers that the insurrection should always be forced to give way before them. In such affairs the least check is fatal to an army. Above all things, to keep inviolate the honor of the flag was the sure pledge of final success. The event has confirmed the correctness of these views." General Cavaignac consulted his comrades, Lamoricière, Bedeau, and Foucher, on this plan, and finding that they fully approved of it, he determined to act strictly upon it, but without disclosing it to the Executive Committee. "He was not sure that they, in their ignorance of military matters, would have approved of it; or, if they had, they might have taken it on themselves to carry it out, and perhaps failed."

It was a necessary consequence of this system of tactics that the insurgents had ample time to choose their ground and fortify it. Their manner of doing this displayed, in a remarkable degree, that proficiency in the art of defence to which the Parisian populace had attained by long practice in street fighting. For the basis of their operations they had four main positions, two on the northern or right bank of the river, namely, the Clos St. Lazare, a little north of the Porte St. Denis, and the Place de la Bastille; and on the left bank they had the church of St. Severin and the Pantheon. An imaginary line, running in a direction nearly north and south through the Clos St. Lazare and the Pantheon, and bisecting the old island city of Paris, represents very nearly the demarcation between the insurgent and the governmental moieties of the capital. All east of that line, with the exception of the Hôtel de Ville and its precincts, was a net-work of barricades, and every inch

of the ground was disputed with desperate courage and pertinacity.

It was twelve o'clock on Friday, the 23d, before the first shot was fired. The battle was begun by the National Guard at the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin, from which the barricaders were repulsed, after considerable loss on both sides. The fighting continued all day on both sides of the river, with great slaughter but little practical result, the insurgents being only driven from their more advanced positions to rally again in other places. About five o'clock General Cavaignac, accompanied by Lamartine, Pierre Bonaparte, and other representatives, led an attack in person against the Faubourg du Temple. For three hours the barricades withstood the fire of four pieces of cannon; and two generals and 400 soldiers were killed or wounded in the conflict. The troops behaved with admirable steadiness throughout the day, and the young soldiers of the Garde Mobile especially distinguished themselves. But the want of a sufficient number of troops occasioned loud and general complaints; and accusations of imbecility, supineness, and treachery, were freely cast on the Executive Commission and the Commander-in-chief. The proneness of the French to indulge in calumnious suspicions, and to find in enormous perfidy a key to whatever remains unexplained in the conduct of their public men, is one of the ugliest defects in the national character.

At four o'clock on Saturday morning the battle began again, and raged with intense vehemence on both sides of the river. Both parties had been reinforced during the night. National Guards had arrived from the departments, a regiment of the line from Orleans, other troops from the adjacent garrisons, and cannon from Vincennes. The insurgents had also gained greatly in numbers, in the strength of their positions, and

in the quantity of arms and ammunition. Barricades, ten or twelve feet high, and of great strength, crossed the streets at every dozen paces; the houses too were, for the most part, in the possession of the insurgents, and covered with mattresses, bags of sand, and other protections against musketry, from behind which showers of missiles were poured down on the assailants. Besides this, they had eleven pieces of cannon; but they do not appear to have made much use of them.

At eleven o'clock the National Assembly passed a resolution declaring Paris in a state of siege, and appointing General Cavaignac Dictator, with unlimited powers, civil and military. The Executive Committee instantly resigned. Orders were then issued that the National Guard should occupy the streets, prevent the assemblage of crowds, and watch over the safety of private property. The rest of the inhabitants were to remain at home, and keep their windows closed as a security to the soldiers in the streets that they should not be fired on from the houses. Every person out of uniform who was found abroad without a written pass was searched, and either taken prisoner or led by a National Guard to his own door. In pursuance of this judicious plan many persons were arrested in the act of conveying ammunition and other aid to the insurgents. At noon General Cavaignac sent a flag of truce to the insurgents, offering a general amnesty if they would yield before two o'clock. The offer was rejected without hesitation, or a moment's interruption of the firing.

During the earlier part of the day the fight raged chiefly in the city and on the southern bank of the river. To get possession of the Hôtel de Ville and the Prefecture of Police was a cardinal point with the insurgents. Occupying the church of St. Gervais and its precincts, close to the Municipal palace, and half the

bridges and buildings in the Isle du Palais, the least success in that quarter would have enabled them to close in on all sides, and completely invest the city. In Parisian warfare, the loss of the Hôtel de Ville is what the loss of its colors is to a regiment in the field; it was therefore a matter of primary importance to the Government to pierce the enemy's lines at that central point, towards which all his efforts converged. The church of St. Gervais was taken after a heavy cannonade; next the bridges were carried with great slaughter, and thus the means of communication between the insurgents of the two banks was completely cut off. Pursuing their success, the troops possessed themselves of the church of St. Severin, the head-quarters of the insurgents on that side. Their stronghold, the Pantheon, was carried at one o'clock at the point of the bayonet, after the great iron doors and railings had been broken by cannon. By four o'clock the Government was master of the whole left bank of the river.

On the northern side the troops were hotly engaged all day in assailing the strong outworks of the insurgents in the Faubourgs Poissouillère and St. Denis, which were not carried till a late hour, and with great cost of life. Their defenders retreated to their central positions in the Clos St. Lazare, the Marais, and the Faubourg St. Antoine, which were so strong as to withstand every effort made against them by General Lamoricière, who commanded in the northern districts.

The Clos St. Lazare is a wide, elevated plateau, covered with building materials and half-built houses. In the middle stood a new hospital, not yet finished, which the insurgents made their citadel, whilst the Church of St. Vincent de Paule and the Customs Warehouses served them as outposts. Behind them they had the outer boulevards, strongly barricaded, and the city-wall, which they had loop-holed, and from behind which a number of men fired, in complete security, on

the troops. The church was taken early on Sunday morning. At one o'clock General Lamoricière stormed the Customs Dépôt, after breaching it with cannon. Howitzers then swept the Clos St. Lazare, and the troops marching through divided the insurgents into two parts, which they drove before them in different directions. By four o'clock the troops of the Republic were masters of this quarter, and General Lamoricière was now able to effect a junction in the Place de la Bastille with the troops that had meanwhile been sweeping the ground up to that point from the Hôtel de Ville. This latter was a service of extreme difficulty, and could hardly have been effected at all without the aid of the sappers and pompiers to turn the barricades by cutting passages through the houses, and sometimes by blowing them up. Cannon was almost useless in the narrow and tortuous streets of this quarter. The insurgents had possession of nearly all the houses, and had opened interior communications between them, so that they could pass to and fro as in covered ways. The whole neighborhood was in fact one immense fortress, which it was necessary to demolish stone by stone. The besiegers paid a heavy price of blood for their victory.

A desperate struggle, continued to a late hour at night in the Faubourg du Temple, concluded the operations of this most bloody day. On Monday morning the insurgents made their last stand in the Faubourg St. Antoine, beyond the Canal St. Martin. An armistice took place, and they sent a deputation to propose a surrender, on condition that they should be allowed to retain their arms. General Cavaignac would accept nothing less than an unconditional surrender, and he allowed the insurgents until ten o'clock to deliberate. At that hour it was thought that the terms prescribed were agreed to, and some of the troops having got within the lines of the insurgents were fired on, and a

great number of them killed. Hostilities were immediately renewed, and by one o'clock they terminated in the total discomfiture of the insurgents.

In the above rapid sketch we have confined ourselves as much as possible to mere outline, and avoided the introduction of details which might distract the reader's attention and hinder him from obtaining a clear, connected view of the plan and course of the contest. Some of these details may now be added, but the picture will still remain but a faint and imperfect copy of the terrible original. Let the reader imagine, if he can—what no description can portray—the horrors of a capital given up for four days to universal battle, waged on both sides with furious bravery and merciless hatred and vengeance. So vast a massacre, so immense a desolation, wrought in the heart of a city by the hands of her own citizens, never before occurred even in the annals of civil warfare or of Parisian revolutions.

The number of killed and wounded on both sides, as ascertained by actual reckoning, exceeded 8,000 ; but, besides these, many perished of whom no accurate account could be taken. Multitudes of dead bodies were cast into the Seine before they were yet cold. The remains of others were found by the reapers in the fields around Paris. Nearly 14,000 prisoners were made by the Government, and of these more than a thousand died of gaol-fever.

Of eleven generals who commanded, two were killed, viz. Generals Négrier and Bréa ; and six were wounded, five of them mortally. These were, Duvier, Damesme, Korte, Lafontaine, Fouché, and Bedeau, the last and only surviving one of whom suffered amputation of the thigh. Generals Lamoricière, Lebreton, and Perrot, escaped unhurt. The former had two horses killed under him. Old soldiers declare, that never in the battles of the Empire was the proportion of generals killed

and wounded so considerable, and that never were so many men killed at the attack of forts and redoubts as at the barricades of Paris in the terrible affair of June.

Nor were the victims in this hideous carnage such only as belonged to the guilty party, or to that of their armed opponents, and to a class whose profession it is to brave the chance of a violent death ; but men of peace were struck down in the performance of their generous mission to bring the misguided insurgents to reason, and to offer them promises of mercy. One member of the National Assembly, M. Bixio, was severely wounded while thus charitably employed ; and two others, MM. Dornès and Charbonnel, received wounds of which they died. But the death that produced the saddest and most profound impression, appalling even the host of his slayers, and filling their hearts with shame and contrition, was that of Denis August Affre, the good Archbishop of Paris. Desirous of putting an end to the horrors of the insurrection, he went, on the second day, among the insurgents, accompanied by two of his vicars. The firing from the barricades ceased at the sight of a green branch which was carried before him. Some misunderstanding, however, caused a musket to be discharged, which led to a resumption of the firing on both sides, just at the moment when the Archbishop and his attendants were about to ascend a barricade. Uninjured, however, by the fire, he descended into the midst of the insurgents ; but while he was addressing them he was struck in the groin by a ball fired from a window. The Archbishop's servant Pierre, who accompanied his master, was mortally wounded at the same barricade ; the two vicars who were with him escaped unhurt, but the Archbishop expired on the 27th. The good shepherd had given his life for his sheep.

Treachery and cruelty characterized the warfare

carried on by the insurgents. Seldom did they give quarter, and in many instances they butchered their prisoners with the atrocity of savages. The boy soldiers of the Garde Mobile were the special objects of their barbarous rage; the mutilated body of one of those lads was seen on the principal barricade of the Faubourg St. Antoine, impaled on a stake; the bodies of five others were found in the Pantheon, hung up by the wrists, and hacked with sabres and bayonets. A woman, who was taken prisoner, confessed, with the most savage joy, that she had decapitated five officers of the Garde Mobile with a table knife. It is not true, however, as was at first given out, that the insurgents carried their cruelty to such a pitch of refinement as to use poisoned, or hacked, or jagged balls. The evidence of the surgeons who had care of the wounded completely refutes that story; the only apparent grounds for which were, that the insurgents sometimes used balls that were defective in shape from the haste with which they were made, and that sometimes they used zinc and copper when lead failed them. To supply themselves with the latter metal they went down into the vaults under the Column of July, and carried away the leaden coffins, after throwing out the remains of the victims of 1830, and of February, 1848. The insurgents made several attempts to set houses on fire by pumping spirits of turpentine upon them. In several places vitriol was thrown from the windows on the troops.

General Bréa having summoned the barricaders at the Barrière de Fontainebleau to surrender, four men stepped out from behind it, and made friendly proposals to the General that he should enter their lines and parley. He imprudently complied, and went behind the barricade, accompanied by his aide-de-camp and two other officers. Instantly 2000 men started up, and threatened to kill the four hostages if the

troops before them did not lay down their arms. Two hours were spent in parleying, during which time Bréa wrote five notes to Colonel Thomas, who commanded the Gardes Mobiles before the barricade. The colonel sent to General Cavaignac for instructions. His reply was, that the safety of the country must be thought of before that of individuals, and, therefore, the barricade must be attacked. The order was executed, the barricade was carried, and in the guard-house near it were found the dead bodies of General Bréa and his aide-de-camp. They had been both shot in cold blood, and their dead bodies mutilated. The two other officers secreted themselves and escaped.

After carrying a barricade in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the 48th Regiment made a number of prisoners, one of whom they were about to put to death, when Colonel Regnault came forward and saved the man. "Thank you, colonel," said the insurgent, advancing towards him; and, drawing a pistol from beneath his blouse, he shot his preserver dead.

The insurgents had abundance of arms, furnished them from the arsenals of the State. They had foundries for casting balls, and chemists were impressed to make gunpowder for them. Every species of artifice was employed to convey ammunition. Milk-pails, the baskets carried by well-dressed women, the litters of the wounded, and even hearses, were found filled with gunpowder and cartridges. Large sums of money, embezzled from the *ateliers*, were discovered on the persons of men apparently in extreme poverty. The women of Paris took a most active part in the struggle. They conveyed signals and orders through the hottest fire. They carried off the wounded. Some of them perished on the barricades, or fired from the houses on the soldiers, whilst

some are even reported to have inflicted the most refined barbarities upon their wretched fellow-citizens who had fallen prisoners into their hands.

Infuriated by the cruel deeds of the insurgents, the National Guard and the Garde Mobile could hardly be restrained from killing all who fell into their hands. In repeated instances they shot their prisoners by scores and fifties, and this carnage was continued even after the defeat of the insurrection. On the nights of the 26th and 27th of June, the streets were still lined with vast bodies of armed guardians; every window was illuminated, not in token of joy over the dismal victory, but as a measure of safety; and every five minutes the ear was struck by the sharp, warning cry,—*Sentinelle, garde à vous !* * which was repeated from man to man throughout the whole line of sentries, until it died away in the far distance. Sometimes the more awful sound of musketry in volley told the fate of some unhappy body of prisoners.

Assassinations were frequent for many days after the open fighting had ceased. Many soldiers were shot on their posts; others were killed with poisoned wine and brandy. Strange accidents occurred to increase the havoc of those bloody days. About midnight, on the 26th of June, a body of National Guards from one of the provinces was escorting about sixty prisoners to the Tuileries. Just as they were entering the Carousel they passed a post of National Guards; the arms were piled, and the men had fallen asleep exhausted by fatigue. The prisoners made a rush, seized some of the weapons, and ran off in various directions, firing at every sentry they met. The guards of both parties fired confusedly, and killed fifty of their own number. Thirty of the prisoners were also shot dead; some others were mortally wounded; the rest escaped.

* Sentinel, be on your guard.

The most minute inquiry has failed to produce the least evidence to connect the insurrection of June with the machinations of any pretender's party—Orleanist, Bonapartist, or Legitimist. It was planned and executed by the workmen alone; the *Ateliers nationaux* furnished the army, the organization, and the funds; and the animus and the rallying cry were given by the Luxembourg. The atrocities we have related, and the inscription "*Incendie et pillage*,"* seen on, at least, one banner, are to be attributed to the *forçats*† and other known criminals, who mingled largely in the composition of the *ateliers*. The great mass of the combatants had no thought of direct and open plunder, but wrote "Death to Robbers!" on the walls and shop-fronts, as in the days of February; though, had they gained the victory, their very first step towards realizing their visionary social republic must have been a universal system of spoliation, to be enforced and expedited by means of the guillotine. The guilt of these men lies at the door of those who filled them with a fanatical faith in schemes conceived in defiance of the laws of human nature and the vital principles of society. For the bulk of the men behind the barricades, the democratic and social republic meant the despotic government of the country by the working classes of Paris; for so they interpreted in the vulgar tongue the transcendental doctrines professed in the Luxembourg.

* Fire and pillage.

† Galley slaves.

CHAPTER IV.

FRANCE.

FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL CAVAIGNAC AS PRESIDENT
OF THE COUNCIL TO THE ELECTION OF THE FIRST PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLIC.

WITH the defeat of the June insurrection began a new phase in the internal affairs of France. On laying down his temporary dictatorship immediately after the pacification of the capital, General Cavaignac was, by the enthusiastic suffrages of the Assembly, appointed President of the Council, with power to nominate his own ministry. He chose it at first from among the men connected with the *National* newspaper, the organ of the more reasonable section of pure Republicans; and he afterwards modified it by the admission of M. Dufaure and other members of the old dynastic Opposition; the Jules Favres, the Flocons, and all the rest of the *Réforme* coterie, were removed from office, and the Socialists, the *Montagne*, and the Red Republicans of every sect, were deprived of the usurped power they had exercised with such insolent tyranny. The temper of the nation and of the Assembly was become strongly Conservative. A disposition even to retrograde beyond the limits of Conservatism was manifested in many quarters, and the Monarchists of all denominations began to display their renovated hopes with a boldness that scarcely brooked disguise. Fortunately,

however, the civil sword of France was in a hand that knew how and when to wield it with effect. General Cavaignac held the balance between all parties with firm impartiality ; and he warned the monarchical intriguers, in very emphatic language, that his eye was upon them, and that they should find him ready to crush them upon the first provocation as he had crushed the Red Republicans.

All requisite measures were taken to secure the peace of the capital and the provinces, and to allay the anxieties that were from time to time excited by rumors of fresh plots. The garrison of Paris was augmented and maintained on a war footing. The National Guard underwent a thorough purification : every man belonging to it who had not responded to the call to arms during the insurrection was disarmed and dismissed the ranks. The 8th, 9th, and 12th legions, comprising the men of the Marais, the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the Faubourg St. Marceau, were disarmed and dissolved, and so also were twenty-seven companies of the other nine legions, and two of the suburban legions. The *Ateliers nationaux* were suppressed ; but, by a decree passed in the midst of the insurrection, three millions of francs were applied to the relief of the destitute inhabitants of Paris. The state of siege was prolonged until the 20th of October, and during its continuance eleven journals were suspended, including *La Presse*, the editor of which, M. Emile de Girardin, had been arrested on the 24th of June by order of General Cavaignac, and kept in confinement for eleven days. A law for the regulation of the press was also enacted, and the responsibility of journalists was secured by the exaction of a large amount of caution-money, and by other stringent provisions. Lastly, the legal limitations of the right of association were defined, and those clubs which were not suppressed were made liable to such reasonable re-

strictions, as were requisite to the peace and safety of the community.

The trials of the insurgent prisoners occupied all the rest of the year, and some cases still remained over, notwithstanding that the business was prosecuted before ten military commissions, sitting simultaneously. Transportation was the penalty to which the guilty were made liable, by an *ex post facto* law passed on the 27th of June, and the Marquesas were at first talked of as their place of banishment. This project, however, was abandoned as impracticable; and the worst offenders were sent to Senegal, the rest to Algeria. The total number of the accused was 10,838, of whom 6,237 were set at liberty, 4,346 condemned to transportation, and 255 sent before courts-martial. A strange incident occurred during one of the trials. One of the judges, Major Constantine, having pressed hardly upon a prisoner in his examination, the latter exclaimed, "It well becomes you to question me thus. Why you know you were to have been made Minister of War had we succeeded! You know that you commanded at one of the barricades dressed in a blouse." An inquiry having been instituted, the result was, that Major Constantine was arrested, tried, and found guilty. He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, to be cashiered, and to be incapacitated from serving the state either in a military or civil station.

The task of searching out the causes and instigators of the events of May and June was intrusted to a Committee of Inquiry, presided over by Odillon Barrot. Great was the anxiety with which its Report was regarded beforehand: "it hung like a heavy cloud upon the whole country; but it had been so much used and abused by anticipation, that when it exploded it vanished in smoke." The tone of personal resentment that pervaded it deprived it of all authority. It was a very severe judgment passed upon the chief actors in the

Revolution of February, and upon that revolution, but passed in a manifest spirit of retaliation on the part of Odillon Barrot and his friends against Ledru Rollin and Lamartine. It was so evidently an act of accusation against the origin of the Republic, that the more wary men of the ex-dynastic party thought it rather imprudent and inopportune ; and Thiers himself disapproved of it, but too late.

The Report of the Committee of Inquiry gave rise on the 25th of August to a most animated debate, in which Ledru Rollin boldly defied his accusers ; and if he did not accomplish the impossible feat of rebutting all their charges, he at least succeeded in dealing them some heavy and well merited blows. He began by alluding to an inquiry set on foot after the affair of October, 1789, which, according to his account, was the sole cause of the sanguinary excesses of 1798 ; and by analogy he contended that the inquiry of 1848 could only lead to a division among the true Republicans, if not to worse results. He denied that he had occasion to defend himself against any imputations contained in the Report. In June, was he not at his post ? In May, had he not done his duty ? And for the matters in which he had been engaged from the Revolution of February to the meeting of the National Assembly, had he not been absolved from anything that might offend by the vote of the Assembly, that " the Provisional Government had merited well of the country ?" He avowed his circulars, and defended the commissioners on the ground that nothing but a really Republican Assembly could consolidate the Republic. He then alluded to the proposed invasion of Belgium ; with respect to which he gave not only absurd but contradictory explanations. In the first place, he justified the expedition to Risquons-tout, on the ground, which he knew to be false, that not only was a large body of the ministers of Louis Philippe plotting at Brussels against

the Republic, but that there were three English men-of-war in the Scheldt, ready on the first movement in Belgium to take possession of Antwerp ; and then, with singular inconsistency, he denied that he had given arms to the expedition : for, according to him, the arms of which the Belgian Republicans got possession at Lille had been provided, not for them, but for the National Guards.

Having got over this aggression on a neighboring state in this bungling way, he made a tremendous, and it must be said successful, onslaught on the Thiers and Odillon Barrot parties, whom he characterized as "the involuntary authors of the Revolution of 1848." In a strain of powerful invective, he taunted them with their incapacity ; and accused them of acting under the Republic the same unworthy part that they had done under the Monarchy. They had just ideas enough, he said, to clog the march of Government, but not sufficient to conduct the Government themselves. After eighteen years of opposition, they had contrived, contrary to their own wishes, to undermine and upset the Monarchy ; and when they had done so, they were completely taken aback by their own success, and had not an idea what they were to substitute. He recommended to them not to recommence the factious system of opposition, which could not succeed, because, "as they had no ideas under the Government of July, neither could they at the present day bring any to bear which would remedy the evils with which the country was besieged." This was the most successful part of M. Ledru Rollin's speech. He afterwards entered on the subject of his own idea of a republic ; but as he defended Socialist ideas in all their pruriency, and appeared to cast a slight on the idea of property (the existence of which he went very near to deny), his remarks were very coldly received. Throughout his speech he dwelt strongly on the necessity of concord, as the

first duty of all true friends of the Republic. When he closed, the few cheers he received came exclusively from the Montagnards.

Louis Blanc then read a written speech of great length and elaborate preparation, wherein he made a general disclaimer of all that was imputed to him as culpable; but he failed to impress the Assembly, less, perhaps, through the improbability than the feebleness of his address. Caussidière followed in another written harangue, rough, homely, and incoherent. He dwelt on the order which he had preserved in Paris, a matter of such difficulty in times of revolution; he boasted of his cosmopolite efforts to reconcile the indigenous hackney-coachmen with their alien fellows; he disclaimed Sobrier, and vituperated with no less justice than force, some of the vagabond witnesses who had deposed against him.

In the midst of the discussion, the Procureur-Général demanded leave to prosecute Louis Blanc for his share in the insurrection of May, and Caussidière for his share in the insurrections of May and June. This was the second application of the kind that had been made in Louis Blanc's case. The first took place early in June, when the committee to which the question was referred declared by fifteen to three in favor of prosecution; but when the subject came to be discussed in full Assembly, the decision of the committee was reversed, after a very stormy debate, by 368 against 337. It was a singular circumstance, that with the exception of M. Bastide, all the ministers voted against the prosecution, and therefore against their own attorney-general, who thereupon resigned office: so also did Jules Favre, the Red Republican, and author of the circulars; and M. Crémieux, the Minister of Justice, whose conduct in voting against the prosecution, which might be considered as having been instituted by himself, occasioned no little scandal.

The second application for leave to prosecute was granted in Louis Blanc's case, by a majority of 504 to 252; and a similar authority was given as to Causidière, by 477 votes against 268: but the motion to proceed against him on account of the events of June was negatived by 458 to 370. With this vote the Assembly closed a debate of eighteen hours' duration; a length of sitting unprecedented in the French legislature.

Warrants were forthwith applied for against the incriminated parties, who meanwhile were making the best of their way to the frontiers. Some formal delays took place—contrived ones, as is alleged—and the fugitives arrived safely in England, to the great relief, no doubt, of the French Executive.

Prince Louis Napoleon, the *bête noire** of the Assembly, was again let loose upon it by the electors of Corsica; but again he relieved the fears of that body by a letter of the 8th of July, stating that his election had been without his consent or approval; but adding, "While I do not, however, renounce the honor of being one day a Representative of the People, I think I ought to wait until the time that my return to France cannot in any way serve as a pretext to the enemies of the Republic. I trust that my disinterestedness may prove the sincerity of my patriotism, and prove the best reply to those who erroneously accuse me of ambition."

If the pledges given by a candidate for national honors be not light as lovers' vows, then is the first President of the French Republic rigidly bound in honor and conscience to forego all pretensions to the imperial purple.

He did wisely in not hastily assuming the rank of a

* *Bête noire* is equivalent to the English word *Bugbear*.

representative. Delay answered the double purpose of keeping his name before the public, and of enabling him at least to enter the Assembly with imposing *éclat*. Elections took place in Paris and in some of the departments in the third week of September. In the capital three vacancies were to be filled, and about fifty candidates were started. The Government made great exertions to promote the return of its own men; but they were all distanced. Louis Napoleon was returned by an overwhelming majority; and M. Fould alone made any show of competition with the three Communist candidates who stood next on the poll. In addition, Louis Napoleon was returned for the departments of the Moselle, the Yonne, and the Orne. The numbers polled were:—for Bonaparte, 116,014; Fould, the Jew banker, 80,193; Raspail, the Socialist, a prisoner in Vincennes, 67,852; Thoré and Cabet, Communists, 65,650 and 65,460; Roger and Adam, Government candidates, 64,057 and 55,904; Marshal Bugeaud, 49,411; Emile de Girardin only 28,108.

In the provinces the elections were more satisfactory to the Conservative party. Count Molé, who had pledged his entire and universal allegiance to the Republic, was returned for the Gironde; and M. Rivet, an ex-deputy, defeated M. Raspail at Lyons, but by a very narrow majority.

The heterogeneous elections of June had presented a striking type of the mental and moral confusion in which Paris was plunged. The September phenomenon was still more extraordinary. The same city sends at once into the Assembly the representatives of both extremes—a Banker and a Communist, a Conservative and a Destructive. Is it possible to conceive a more oddly assorted trio than these three names,—Bonaparte, Fould, Raspail? that is, military despotism, money aristocracy, and agrarian democracy—all coming out at once from the same ballot!

A shrewd observer, commenting on these elections, says of the return of Bonaparte, that "if it is a danger for the present Government, for the Republic, for the existing order of things, it is not in any sense the real danger for society itself. The struggle is elsewhere ; it must be looked for in the two other names. There lies the *question*, To be or not to be ? on that ground are social order and its enemies fighting their deadly fight. The Emperor's nephew represents but a name, and a name which he is unable to bear ; it is something material : but Socialists represent ideas, doctrines, something intangible. See how strong, how disciplined, how perfectly united they have remained, even after their last battle of June ! They have been dispersed, dismantled, transported ; and, like the earth-worm cut into pieces, they have re-united and become *one* again. Whilst Conservatives of all shades were disseminating and losing their strength upon a dozen names, they set aside all differences and waived all rivalries, and unanimously adopted three names. They were summoned by their leaders in the name of desolated wives, slain brothers, proscribed children : and to a man they voted the same list. What an example, and what a lesson for the other party ! The Conservatives had the majority in their hands : if you take the total of the votes given to at least twelve candidates, you will arrive at 300,000 and more. At all events, though Bonaparte could not have been excluded, the Socialist candidate could. How does the matter stand now ? Both parties, I might say both armies, remain under arms ; *Society* on one side, *Socialists* on the other. A compromise had been attempted ; it has miserably failed. Prudent politicians had tried equilibrium, and a sort of Republican *juste-milieu* ;* it was rejected on both sides, and, with a kind of centrifugal force, popular feeling

* Golden mean.

rushed at once to both extremities. That means nothing else but war, deadly war, between interests and classes. Fearful and melancholy to say, nothing has been changed by that terrible battle of June—nothing! At the last elections, the Socialists were about 80,000; this time, they have numbered about 65,000; the 15,000 missing are the dead or the transported: the mass has remained compact and undivided, ready for another time. On the opposite side you find a majority, but no unity: it appears they still want some cruel lesson to learn discipline; they require severe drilling.

“As an additional insult to the *Establishment*, the Socialists have significantly returned to the House an individual who had invaded and violated that same House, and is now for that very fact a prisoner at Vincennes. That Raspail is one of the strange figures of the times. There is in him an odd mixture of the philosopher and the physician; he is a medical as well as a social reformer. He has invented a panacea, and pretends to cure all maladies with camphor; having taken no degrees, he was never allowed to practise; so that he was obliged to spread his remedies like his doctrines, secretly. Amongst low classes he has that sort of influence which physicians and jugglers exercise over savages.”

The quiet and unassuming manner in which Bonaparte made his appearance in the Assembly rather astounded the Parisians, who had speculated on his presenting himself in a much more theatrical, if not martial, fashion. It is certain, however, that the Government had information about some plot going on, and that it entertained serious doubts of the fidelity of the troops: some regiments of the line and some battalions of the Garde Mobile were ordered out of Paris. There were men there more Bonapartist than

the Bonaparte himself. As for M. Raspail, the Assembly resolved almost unanimously that his election was valid, but that his imprisonment and the state prosecution against him should both be continued. Ledru Rollin openly voted for the immediate admission of Raspail, the very man who had invaded the Assembly, and endeavored to overthrow the Government of which he, Ledru Rollin, was at the time a prominent member. But so far was the House from acquiescing in this spirit of amnesty, that it did not even take measures to expedite the trials of Raspail and his fellow-prisoners, Barbès and Albert, so as to enable them to take their seats, if acquitted. The last month of the year elapsed before the judicial preliminaries as to the affair of May 15 were completed.

Slowly and tediously, week after week and month after month, the Assembly debated the draught of the Constitution. A vehement contest was waged about the clause in the preamble relating to labor. The clause, as originally proposed, pledged the Republic to protect the citizen in his person, family, religion, property, and labor, and to give subsistence to the necessitous. The Socialists and other Red Republicans pressed an amendment recognising the right of "all citizens," whether necessitous or not, to "instruction, work, and assistance." After three days' hammering of the question, all parties came to a sudden and unexpected agreement upon the following amendment, proposed by M. Dufaure:—"The Republic owes fraternal assistance to necessitous citizens, either in the way of procuring work for them to the extent of its resources, or of giving, in default of family, the means of subsistence to those who are unfit to work." This proposition evidently involves nothing more than the principle of such a poor-law as was given to England in the

reign of Elizabeth; nevertheless, the Socialists were pleased to consider it as foreshadowing the realization of their own doctrines.

The clause relating to taxation gave rise to a debate of some interest. A controversy is maintained among the French economists as to whether taxation should be *proportional* to a man's income or *progressive* with it; a defective terminology, failing to convey the intended meaning; the contest really is, whether taxation should increase at the same rate with or at a more rapid rate than the income of the tax-payer. The Red Republicans advocate the "progressive" doctrine; the majority support the "proportional" doctrine. The constitution committee timidly refused to adjudge the point, and evaded the question, by laying down in the draught of the Constitution that each citizen should contribute to the taxes *en raison de ses facultés et de sa fortune*.* M. Servièrès proposed to substitute the words found in all the previous Constitutions, *en proportion de sa fortune*.† The debate lasted two days; ultimately the amendment was carried by an immense majority, and the partisans of progressive taxation were consequently beaten.

The 20th article of the Constitution declares, that "the French people delegates the legislative power to *one* Assembly." An amendment, declaring that there should be two Assemblies, was proposed by Duvergier de Hauranne, and supported by Odillon Barrot. The debate was one of the most brilliant in the parliamentary annals of France. Lamartine made a most effective speech in favor of the original article. To the argument drawn from the example of England and of the United States of America he replied, that in England the House of Peers is a suitable representation of

* Proportional to his faculties and his fortune.

† In proportion to his fortune.

the aristocratic element which exists there, but which is no longer tolerated in France ; in America, the Senate represents the federal principle, which is the basis of the union of the independent States. But his grand argument was drawn from the fatal necessity of having always in readiness the means of promptly evoking a dictatorship. Menaced on all sides by the deadliest perils, France would often have need of instantaneous recourse to that *ultima ratio* of agonized society. But who was to be invested with the arbitrary power of nominating the dictator ? Surely it should not be shared between two Assemblies, often at variance with each other ; the only reasonable hope that the right man would be forthcoming at the right moment depended on intrusting his nomination to one sole authority. How deeply the Assembly felt the force of this melancholy argument was shown by the largeness of the majority—530 to 289—that affirmed the principle of a single Chamber.

The Constitution was completed at last—no, not completed, for a supplement of “organic laws” was promised,—it was confirmed by the votes of 737 members to 36, and was proclaimed on the 10th of November. It is the twenty-first, twenty-second, or twenty-third—we forget which—that has been set up in France within sixty years, and it is by no means likely to be the last of the series. Its best praise is, that it confers upon the people some practical powers which they are not likely to relinquish, and in the exercise of which they will become capable and desirous of still better things. But so full is it of flaws and imperfections, so obscure, so encumbered with details and excrescences, that it will have to be thoroughly recast, whatever the nominal form of the Government which may hereafter be established in France.

As regards the Executive, this Constitution goes very near to satisfy Ledru Rollin's postulate, that there

should be in the Government no individual representative of the national sovereignty ; but that the Assembly should monopolize all the functions of the State. Elected by universal suffrage to the chief office in the Executive, the President of the Republic should be the representative of the sovereign authority ; but he is so hemmed in by checks, that his power is all but neutralized. The provisions regulating his position and functions are a jumble of devices, sometimes just enough, but not falling into one intelligent whole, not guided by any master principle. The negative prevails throughout. He is elected for four years ; and the first thought is to cut off any chance of his establishing a family interest, by making him, and all his relations "to the sixth degree inclusive," ineligible for the next term. He disposes of the army, but must not command it in person ; nor can he make war without leave of the Assembly. He negotiates and ratifies treaties, but they must be sanctioned by the Assembly. He presides at national solemnities, receives a salary of \$120,000 a year, and is lodged at the cost of the Republic. He chooses his own ministers and dismisses them, but all other acts of his are invalid unless countersigned by a minister. He is himself responsible, as well as every other officer in his department. He may convene the Assembly, but if he dissolve or prorogue it, or hinder its meeting, he is guilty of high treason. He can only perform many important functions with the advice of a Council of State, elected by the Assembly ; and, in short, if he strictly observe the letter of the Constitution, it is not easy to see how the Republic can have in him an efficient officer. The probability is, rather, that he will be fretted into a constant state of secret or open conflict with the Assembly, and that his efforts will be continually bent on acquiring for himself a less irksome position and a freer scope of action.

The Constitution collects its restrictions and its immunities into two separate bundles, assigning the former to the President, the latter to the Assembly. The Deputies are exempt from arrest, except taken *flagrante delicto*; and from prosecution, except by leave of the Assembly. A citizen under arrest, elected to the Assembly, is *ipso facto* freed. The Assembly is permanent; the new one is returnable the day after the old one expires; it cannot be prorogued by the President; if it adjourns, it leaves a committee to reconvoke it on emergency. It makes laws. We have already seen how it controls the Executive. As paid functionaries are to be ineligible to the Assembly, and its members cannot hold office, it can have little sympathy with the Executive. The President must promulgate all laws within a month; within that term he can call for a new deliberation, but there the shadow of the veto terminates—a further affirmation of the law is definitive. Thus the supreme power resides in the seven hundred and fifty Deputies; and its limits, moreover, are wholly undefined. The Assembly may become as absolute as the Venetian Ten, and the more readily since it is privileged to sit in secret.

Far more than the merits or demerits of a constitution universally regarded as ephemeral, the question of the Presidential Election occupied for months the minds of Frenchmen of every class. For some time the majority of the Assembly were strongly inclined to assume to themselves the nomination of the President, as the only means of defeating the pretensions of Louis Napoleon; but they durst not adopt such a course without some specious pretext to offer to the country. The least explosion of a Bonapartist conspiracy would have been sufficient; but nothing of the kind occurred; and it was finally resolved that the contest should be decided by universal suffrage on the 10th of December.

Cavaignac was the candidate of the moderate and sincere Republicans, for it was not until the last moment that Lamartine consented to be put in nomination; but the Monarchists of every denomination, and "the involuntary authors of the Revolution of February," the mortified and resentful members of the late dynastic Opposition, all gave their support to Bonaparte. Had the contest been only between these parties, the success of Cavaignac would have been certain; but beyond them lay the vast, intractable mass of the population, the men who had suffered most deeply by the faults and follies of all parties, and to whom that candidate would be most acceptable who came before them recommended by the hostility of those whose names were identified in the popular apprehension with increased taxes, stinted means of subsistence, oppression, anarchy, and civil war. The Revolution of February had disturbed everything and settled nothing; it had not even gratified the national passion for glory. No wonder that the people should have longed for a change, and that the *name* of the Emperor should have raised them with irresistible strength. It reminded them of a time when France was united, mighty, and glorious, well ordered at home, and terrible abroad. The peasants thought not of the iron pressure of the Imperial despotism, against which their fathers had revolted; for Time, "the beautifier of the Dead," had already cast a soft, legendary haze over the harsher features of the great man's reign. While crossing the Place Vendôme one day, Prince Louis Napoleon is reported to have said, pointing to his uncle on the column, "There is the great elector!" And most true it was. The peasants knew little of the nephew besides the name he bore; but that name was invoked with a blind, unwavering faith, as possessing a cabalistic power to charm back peace and plenty to the land. The unanimous impulse that possessed the

country people sprang from a superstition against which no reasonings could avail. When they came to the balloting-places, those of them who could not read numbered with their fingers the twenty-two letters of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, printed on their tickets. Some of them had been told, that the votes for Bonaparte would be, by some secret chemical process, converted into votes for Cavaignac when once in the ballot-box : they came in whole bodies, with their muskets, to watch over the boxes day and night : and, as a distinctive sign, they had folded their tickets in a triangular shape, meaning the *petit chapeau* of the Great Emperor.

The result of the election was as follows :—

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte	5,534,520
General Cavaignac	1,448,302
Ledru Rollin	371,431
Raspail	36,964
Lamartine	17,914
General Changarnier	4,687
Sundry votes	12,434
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Number of votes actually given . . .	7,426,252
Votes disallowed	23,219
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Number of voters who went to the poll in the 86 departments of France }	7,449,471

It appears by the official returns that Louis Napoleon had a majority of votes in eighty-four out of eighty-six departments. He had more than 100,000 votes in each of the departments of the Seine, the Charente Inférieure, the Somme, the Yonne, the Nord, the Gironde, the Seine et Marne, and the Pas de Calais. General Cavaignac had the majority in the Finisterre and the Morbihan. The departments which gave him

the next most votes were the Seine, the Nord, the Pas de Calais, the Ile et Vilaine, the Côtes du Nord, the Loire Inférieure, and the Manche. He obtained more than 10,000 votes in the departments of the Seine, the Bouches du Rhône, the Lot et Garonne, the Haute Garonne, the Saone et Loire, the Nord, the Gard, and the Côte d'Or. M. Raspail had more than 1000 votes in the departments of the Seine, the Haute Loire, and the Var solely. M. de Lamartine obtained more than 2000 votes in the departments of the Seine and the Saone et Loire: he did not receive even a thousand votes in any of the others. Among the votes disallowed were 1200 given at Brest for the Prince de Joinville.

The result of the votes in the three provinces of Algeria is thus stated by the *Akhbar* :—

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte	38,314
General Cavaignac	20,854
Ledru Rollin	5,403
Lamartine	3,024
Raspail	142
	<hr/>
	67,737

It is probable that more than three-fourths of the whole adult male population of France voted on this occasion ; and never in history was so enormous a mass of people put at once in motion with such perfect order. Seven millions and a half of men going to the poll at the same moment, without the least disturbance, was assuredly a grand sight and a great fact. The result, too, very strikingly illustrated one advantage of universal suffrage, for it showed beyond cavil that the newly-elected President was the choice of the people. He had a majority of nearly four to one over his nearest rival, and of more than two to one over all his rivals together.

There is another way in which we may analyse the

above lists of votes. Irrespectively of mere political differences, the whole may be divided into two parts : for we must consider the voters for Bonaparte, Cavaignac, Lamartine, and Changarnier, as belonging to so many different sections of one party ; that, namely, which is opposed to the Socialists and the Republicans. Drawing, then, that broad line between the friends and foes of order, we see on the one side, 7,000,000 of men, on the other only 400,000.

The ceremony of proclaiming the President of the Republic was suddenly and unexpectedly accomplished on the evening of the 20th of December. It appears that Government had received tidings of a Bonapartist plot to seize the President on his way from the Assembly, and to convey him to the Tuileries with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" In order to defeat all such projects, the report was industriously spread that the installation would not take place until after the lapse of some days ; and Paris, on the evening of the 20th, knew only by the cannon of the Invalides that the ceremony had been actually completed.

The members of the National Assembly having taken their places, and the report of the Electoral Committee having been read, General Cavaignac rose, and in a brief address, delivered with remarkable dignity, resigned, in his own name and that of his colleagues, the civil authority with which the Assembly had invested them. M. Marrast, the President, put the question of adopting the Report, whereupon the whole Assembly, with the exception of a few on the extreme left, rose and affirmed it by acclamation. M. Marrast then formally proclaimed Citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte President of the French Republic from that day until the second Sunday of May, 1852, and called upon him to take the oath required by the constitution. M. Bonaparte then ascended the tribune ; and the President of the Assembly read the form of the oath, as follows :—

“In the presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the Democratic Republic, and to fulfil all the duties which are imposed upon me by the constitution.”

M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, raising his hand, said with a loud voice, “I swear it.”

At this moment, a salvo of artillery from the Invalides proclaimed the administration of the oath.

President Marrast.—“We call God and men to witness the oath which has been taken. The National Assembly records it, and orders that it shall be transcribed in the proceedings, inserted in the *Moniteur*, published and promulgated in the form of legislative acts.”

The President of the Republic, remaining in the tribune, then delivered the following address :—

“The suffrages of the people, and the oath which I have taken, prescribe my future conduct : my duty is traced out, and I shall fulfil it as a man of honor. I shall see enemies of the country in all those who shall attempt to change by illegal means that which the whole of France has established. Between you and me, citizen representatives, there cannot be any real difference ; our wishes, our desires are the same. I, like you, wish to replace society on its basis, to confirm its democratic institutions, and seek all proper means for alleviating the sufferings of that generous and intelligent people which has given me so shining a testimony of its confidence.

“The majority which I have obtained not only fills me with gratitude, but also gives to the new Government the moral force without which there is no authority. With peace and order, our country can raise itself again, can heal its wounds, bring back those men who have been led astray, and calm their passions.

“Animated by this spirit of conciliation, I shall call around me men honorable, capable, and devoted to their country; assured that, maugre the diversities of political origin, they will agree in emulating your endeavors for the fulfilment of the constitution, the perfecting of the laws, and the glory of the Republic.

“The new Administration, in entering upon the conduct of affairs, must thank that which preceded it for the efforts which it made to transmit intact the power of maintaining the public tranquillity. The conduct of the honorable General Cavaignac has been worthy of the loyalty of his character, and of that sense of duty which is the first quality in the chief of a state.

“We have, citizen representatives, a great mission to fulfil—it is to found a Republic in the interest of all, and a Government just and firm, which shall be animated by a sincere love of progress, without being either reactionary or Utopian. Let us be men of our country, not men of a party; and, by the help of God, we shall be able at least to do some good, if we are not able to do great things.”

The speech was received with general marks of approbation, the whole Assembly rising with cries of “*Vive la République!*” M. Louis Bonaparte having come down from the tribune, went up to General Cavaignac and shook him cordially by the hand. The new President was then met by M. Odillon Barrot and his friends of the Right, who escorted him from the hall to the Palace of the Elysée National (*ci-devant Bourbon*), where he took possession of his official residence, held a sort of levée, and slept in the bed-chamber last occupied by his uncle, the Emperor, in Paris.

The following is the ministry that evening gazetted:—Odillon Barrot, President of the Council and Minister of Justice; Drouyn de Lhuys, Foreign Affairs; Léon

de Maleville, Interior; Hippolyte Passy, Finance; Léon Faucher, Public Works; Bixio, Commerce; General Rulhières, War; De Tracy, Marine. By a decree in the same Gazette, General Changarnier was appointed Commander-in-chief of the National Guard and Garde Mobile of the Seine, and of all the regular troops of the first military division. Another decree named Marshal Bugeaud Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Alps. Among other appointments which followed were those of the ex-King of Westphalia, "the General of Division, Jerome Bonaparte," to be Governor of the Invalides; and of the President's cousin, M. Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, to be Ambassador to England.

The *bourgeoisie* now sang Jubilee: *Redeunt Saturnia regna.** The revolutionary cycle was closed, and things had come round to the point from which they started ten months before. On the 24th of February, M. Odillon Barrot was sent for by the King; on the 24th of December, the same M. Barrot was sent for by the President of the Republic. Brush out the memory of all that happened in the interval, and begin again. —But, behold, there is a check and a stumble on the threshold!

In his first speech, as Minister of Finance, M. Passy demanded the maintenance of the existing duties on salt till the first of January, 1850, that is to say, for six months longer than had been recommended by the Committee; and, in support of his demand, he made some general financial statements to the Assembly.†

He did not for a moment contest the oppressiveness of the duty; but the state of the finances would not

* The Golden Age returns.

† The expenditure for the year 1848 exceeds 72,000,000*l.* Under Louis Philippe it averaged 60,000,000*l.*; under Charles X., in the last three years of his reign, 36,000,000*l.*

permit them to give up the 23,000,000 which the duty furnishes. His predecessor had informed them that the whole deficiency in the Treasury at the end of 1849 would be 460,000,000. Now, 38,000,000 must be restored to the savings' banks on the 1st of January, 1850. The deficiency of the year 1849, after the final settlement of the budget, was put at 91,000,000 ; but facts already known would swell that sum to 166,000,000 ; and M. Passy recapitulated evidences to show that his predecessor had, in like manner, underrated unforeseen expenses and overrated augmentations of revenues. On the whole, he estimates the deficiency at 100,000,000 francs beyond his predecessor's total of 460,000,000 francs. M. Passy would absolutely set his face against any other new imposts at present : it was no time for experiments in new taxes ; but that determination on the part of the Government rendered it the more resolved to maintain those in existence. The ministerial proposal was met by an amendment to the effect that the duty should be reduced to ten francs per 100 kilogrammes, from and after the 1st January, 1849, and that it should be completely suppressed on the 1st of January, 1850. The Assembly divided on the first part of this amendment, when it was adopted by a majority of 403 votes to 360. This result created a great degree of agitation. The second part of the amendment was abandoned by M. Anglade ; but it was again brought forward by M. Vezin, and, on a division, rejected by a large majority. Ultimately the *ensemble* of the bill was carried by 372 votes to 363.

The result of this debate plainly indicated that little harmony was to be expected between the Assembly and the new Government. The latter would, therefore, strive eagerly to bring about a dissolution, to which the Assembly had already declared it would not consent until it should have passed the "organic laws."

Before the week was out there was a dispute between

the President and his Cabinet. The latter tendered their resignation in a body, but the majority withdrew it in compliance with the President's apologetic entreaties. Two of them, however, M. Léon de Maleville and M. Bixio, refused to hold office any longer. The quarrel began with an angry letter from the President to the Minister of the Interior, complaining that despatches were kept back from him, and desiring that public documents relating to his own escapades at Strasbourg and Boulogne should be sent to him. Some light was thrown on this affair by a curious scene in the Assembly, in which we see M. Sarrut insinuating that the late Minister of the Interior had kept back documents relating to the Boulogne affair, lest it should be discovered that he (M. de Maleville, then Under-secretary in the department of the Interior) was Louis Napoleon's enemy; M. de Maleville accusing M. Sarrut of having "basely lied;" M. Dupont de Bussac complaining that the Minister had treated the President as a person bent on illegally abstracting public documents; M. de Maleville again confessing that he had wished to reappoint the same man who was his secret agent of police in 1840, at the time of the Boulogne affair; and that he had resigned because Louis Napoleon's objection to that appointment implied "want of confidence," and hurt M. de Maleville's personal dignity.

All this augured ill for the quiet of the new Presidency.

CHAPTER V.

ITALY.

THE CONSTITUTIONS—AUSTRIAN ASSASSINATIONS IN LOMBARDY.

IN Italy, the year 1848 was from the outset marked with important events. First on the list is the massacre of Milan, to which we shall presently revert. On the 12th of January, the fête-day of King Ferdinand of Naples, the people of Palermo and all the great towns of Sicily rose simultaneously and drove out the Neapolitan troops. On the 28th, the Neapolitans received a Constitution modelled on the French Charter of 1830, but in some respects more liberal. The Sicilians were offered their share of this Constitution, but they refused to accept it. They defeated all the royal troops sent against them; elected their own parliament, which was opened at Palermo on the 25th of March by Ruggiero Settimo, President of the Provisional Government; and on the 13th of the following month, the deposition of King Ferdinand and the independence of Sicily were formally decreed.

In Tuscany, a series of liberal measures was crowned on the 1st of February by the issue of a Constitution better than any of the others granted by the four native princes of Italy to their subjects, and in one capital item superior to that framed for themselves by the Sicilians. The Tuscan Constitution, in its political machinery, resembles the Neapolitan, having a Senate for life and a Chamber of Deputies; it secures freedom of commerce and toleration of all religions; whereas

under the other four Italian constitutions the only religion recognised and permitted is "the Christian Catholic Apostolical Roman."

The Sardinian kingdom was the next to obtain its Constitution, which was published on the 5th of March, and Count Cesare Balbo, a well known writer and statesman, was appointed to form a responsible cabinet. The Piedmontese Constitution is like the Neapolitan in the larger branches of its machinery ; but the King seems to have reserved to himself more power. The cardinal point in the qualification of electors is the payment of taxes of an amount to be determined by an electoral law. The King at the same time reduced the price of salt, a state monopoly.

The Roman Constitution granted by the Pope was proclaimed on the 15th of March, and on the same day the Jesuits were ordered to withdraw from the papal dominions. It cost much pains to render the Roman Constitution as liberal as possible, consistently with the Pope's peculiar spiritual authority ; but a perfect reconciliation between these two conflicting conditions is clearly impossible. The most notable provisions of this Constitution are as follows : The existing College of Cardinals is retained. There is also a Senate or high council, and a Council of Deputies. The Senators are appointed for life by the Pope, who will choose them from among the high ecclesiastical officials and lawyers, and those possessing an income of 4000 scudi (about \$5000) per annum. The council of deputies is elective in the ratio of one deputy to every 30,000 souls. The qualified electors are the possessors of a capital of 300 scudi, or payers of direct taxes to the amount of 12 scudi per annum ; and also certain commercial, learned, and legal officers. The qualification of a deputy is a capital to the amount of 100 scudi, or the occupation of certain learned and ecclesiastical offices. The Roman Catholic religion is indispensable in all. The two

councils have the control of secular matters, but they are precluded from interfering in ecclesiastical affairs and in those of a mixed kind, which come under the church canons of discipline, or in the religious and diplomatic relations of the holy see. The taxes are under the control of the council of deputies. Ministers are responsible for affairs within the power of the two councils. The functions of temporal sovereignty during an interregnum are vested in the Sacred College. There is also a Council of State (privy council) to draw up projects of law and advise on administrative affairs in cases of emergency.

In a preamble to the proclamation incorporating this Constitution, Pius IX. frankly declared the difficulties he had to surmount in reconciling the new secular power of "modern civilization" with the ancient ecclesiastical functions and usages of his government, and indicated the reasons for certain limitations in the functions of the new chambers, avowing the intention "to maintain entire and intact our authority in matters which are actually connected with religion and catholic morality."

Towards the close of the year 1847 it occurred to the people of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, that however unable they were to cope in arms with the Austrians, there was one channel through which they might wage successful war against them. Accordingly it was resolved by all classes of society to practise a total abstinence from tobacco, snuff, and the lottery, as the most effectual means of damaging the finances of the Imperial Government, which derives, as is well known, a very large revenue from those monopolies; and the Milanese reminded each other that the Americans had begun their successful struggle for independence by a similar evasion of the duty on tea.

On the 1st of January no one was to be seen smoking

in the streets, except some few Italians who were not yet aware of the resolutions adopted, or those members of the Austrian party and the Imperial forces, who had smoked before from taste, and now smoked the more from loyalty and devotion to their order. Hence it came to pass, as one of our journalists classically remarked, that whereas the Cæsars of Rome required the early Christians to burn incense to the idols of a heathen Olympus, so the Cæsar of Vienna might test the loyalty or the patriotism of his Italian subjects by requiring them to light a pipe or inhale rappee. The populace, of course, were not slow to manifest their displeasure against those who refused to take the national pledge; crowds gathered round the smokers, insisting that they should lay aside their cigars, sometimes civilly, sometimes with cries and hisses; quarrels arose, and the soldiers began to act with their usual brutality. Count Casati, the Podestà (Mayor) of Milan, remonstrated with the police and the soldiery on their violence; pretending not to recognise him, they arrested him, and marched him off to the Ministry of Police, where he was kept a prisoner until the Municipal Council attended in a body and demanded his release.

The 3d of January arrived, and the Austrian authorities resolved to carry into effect Radetsky's theory, that "three days of bloodshed yield thirty years of peace." In order to inflame the minds of the soldiery to the necessary degree of rage, recourse was had to a stragem like that before employed in Galicia, where the Government persuaded the peasants that it had for three years abolished forced labor, but that the landowners continued to levy it illegally, and were contemplating a massacre to diminish the number of the peasants. A report was now spread in the barracks of Milan, that a great conspiracy had been discovered in the city against the military; and a handbill, full of insults and threats against the soldiery, and purporting

to be clandestinely published by the Milanese, was concocted, and printed in the offices of the police. A remarkable exception was made in this case from the usual energy and rigor shown in dealing with violations of the law of the press, for no efforts were made to discover the authors of the offensive handbill. This was a blunder on the part of the police: to be consistent, they ought to have carried the farce so far.

Six cigars and an ample supply of brandy were served out to each soldier on the morning of the 3d. As the day advanced, they appeared in the streets, a score or two together, half drunk with brandy, and with the rage excited in their breasts by the forged handbill. Each had a cigar in his mouth, and in obedience to their secret orders, they bantered and jeered the Italians, and endeavored by all sorts of insolence to provoke them to a breach of the peace. So the day passed. When evening came, the brandy and cigars had produced their full effect upon the soldiers, who, without provocation, drew their swords, and ran a-muck at all who crossed their paths.

Sixty-one persons were carried to the hospitals, all more or less severely wounded, some of them mortally. Among the latter was the Imperial Councillor Mangani, a man in his seventy-fourth year, who had always been the sworn friend of Austria. *Before* the massacre began, orders were sent by the police to the hospitals to prepare beds, and means of carriage for the wounded. Some of the sufferers were doomed to imprisonment, in addition to all they had already endured, and now a new atrocity was perpetrated; one, says the Marquis d'Azeglio, "which I could not credit, and which I deemed a calumny even on the Austrian police, until I was forced to admit the fact,—*the wounds of the prisoners remained undressed*. Two among them died of gangrene, and the others lay in danger of their lives."

The exasperation produced by these enormities was not confined to any section of Italian society ; it provoked the most strenuous protests, even on the part of men the least prone to resistance against established authority. The parish priest of the cathedral waited on the Viceroy at the head of his clergy, and said that he had witnessed the horrors of war during his long career (he was eighty-five years of age) ; he had seen the Russians and French entering Milan as conquerors ; but he had never beheld such a scene of deliberate murder as that which had just been enacted. On the same day, the Archbishop concluded his discourse from the pulpit of the cathedral with these words :—"Brethren, unite with me in prayers to God to inspire our rulers with more justice and humanity."

Five days after the massacre of Milan, another military outrage was committed in Pavia. The students of the University were following the corpse of one of their companions to the grave, when they were met by two officers with cigars in their mouths, who, without any provocation, passed in among them, hustling and disordering the procession, uttering insulting words against the students and the priests, and puffing the smoke of their cigars in the faces of those around them. The patience of the young men could not endure against such wanton provocation ; they fell upon the officers, who instantly raised an alarm. Help was already at hand, for such encounters were never casual, but planned and prepared beforehand. A body of armed soldiers attacked the students, who suffered severely in the unequal contest ; but one of the officers was killed on the spot, and the other mortally wounded.

Many other enormities of the same kind were committed in other Austrian garrisons ; but we need not repeat the details ; those we have given will suffice to show the savage spirit of the Austrian rule. Formerly

the conduct of the Austrian officers had been uniformly marked by politeness and moderation; they had borne the demonstrations of aversion to which they were exposed with a patience and forbearance that excited the astonishment of strangers, and which, according to the usages of military society, were almost excessive. The sudden and complete change in their habits could only be accounted for by a change of orders. Formerly they had been bidden to submit to insult; their new orders commanded them to disgrace, by their conduct, the standard they followed, and the uniform they wore. Among them, however, there were some whose abhorrence of the office of the bully was not to be overcome by the strongest sense of discipline. "If you have insults to avenge," said General Walmoden to his soldiers on the 3d of January, "first arm the citizens, and then fight them; do not turn murderers."

To quell the spirit of burning hatred their misdeeds had evoked, the Austrian authorities had recourse to their usual nostrums,—brute force, diabolical lies, and pettifogging tyranny. Martial law was proclaimed, and multitudes were visited with fines, imprisonment, or exile, without form of trial.

The police, among other stratagems, attempted that which had met with so much success in Galicia, viz. to spread among the people a notion that the severities of the Government were caused by the extravagant political claims of the rich and the nobles, who were thus the cause of all the sufferings inflicted on their humbler fellow-countrymen. But the latter saw through the trick and expressed their contempt for it in this pointed sentence:—"The Galician florin (the bloodmoney paid at Tarnow) shall not pass current in Lombardy."

Indefatigable in their efforts to discover the central committee to whose machinations they attributed all their troubles, the Austrian bureaucrats were fretted

into a ludicrous state of rage and perplexity by their inability to seize that imaginary body. Themselves accustomed to the dark and tortuous ways of official conspiracy, and familiar only with the baser impulses of human nature, they could not comprehend, far less make a practical stand against, the wondrous workings of a national enthusiasm. They could not imagine how a whole nation, animated by one common hatred, one hope, one desire, should spontaneously display a unity of thought, word, and action, immeasurably surpassing that of their own mercenary confederacy. It is worth while to preserve, as a relic of obsolete barbarism, some record of the pedantic tyranny with which the Governor and police of Milan endeavored to bind down, by rule and schedule, modes of expression as various and uncontrollable as thought itself. In a proclamation issued by Count Spaur, the Governor, on the 22d of February, not only were the severest penalties denounced against disturbers of the public peace, but gestures, looks, particular colors, special modes of applauding at the theatre, and a long list of equally nonsensical matters, were prohibited, as if it were possible to suppress all marks of recognition among those who share the same political enthusiasm. The Milanese, who would not smoke to benefit the Imperial exchequer, ate Neapolitan macaroni in the streets, under the noses of the authorities, in token of their joy that their brethren of the south had obtained a constitution. The police prohibited the Calabrian hat and feather, which every one in Milan had assumed in honor of the Sicilian revolt. But what was the result of the prohibition? By one accord the Milanese agreed to express their political sympathy by turning the hat-buckle in front of the hat, and the man who would wear his hat-band in any other fashion, ran as much risk of being insulted by the populace as if he smoked in the street. These are trifles,—ludicrous trifles, and yet they are as

significant as graver facts, both as regards the intense unanimous hostility of the Lombards to their foreign rulers, and as marking the stupid, inquisitorial intolerance of the Austrian bureaucrats.

An attempt has recently been made by some English worshippers of absolutism, and apostles of paradox, to persuade us that the Austrian rule has been a blessing to Lombardy. The argument by which this monstrous fallacy is supported, consists in impudently claiming for Austria the merit of creating that prosperity which she did not, or could not, destroy. It is true that, in spite of all impediments, Lombardy had become the most flourishing kingdom in Europe, and that more wealth and solid comfort were diffused among all classes of her people than in any other country; but for these advantages she was indebted solely to the prodigious fertility of her soil, the excellence of her agricultural system, her abundant means of internal communication, and the wonderful mechanism of her system of irrigation, both dating from the times of her early freedom, and above all, to those institutions of local self-government which the central authority found it impossible to subvert or neutralize. What was really well done in Lombardy, was done by the people themselves: the Government in no way aided them in farming, manufactures, or commerce; whatever it touched, it marred; whatever duties it took upon itself, it performed with the most scandalous incapacity and dishonesty. The praise bestowed on it by its eccentric English eulogists for its support of charitable and educational establishments, is given to an administration that began its charity by confiscating all the charitable funds, appropriating them as a basis for a government stock, and then generously contributing to the charities their own funds! Its educational activity consisted in jobbing away the professorships in the universities, seizing the schools of Lombardy, regulating the in-

structions so as to teach obedience to the Emperor,—“such as the slave owes to his master,” with a like limitation of every science to the requirements of political and ecclesiastical absolutism, and then forcing all persons to send their children to those training-places for slaves. Its system of taxation was heavy, vexatious, and fearfully demoralizing. Commerce, groaning under its fiscal rapacity, and burdened by Government monopolies, was further restricted to favor the German interests of Austria. Public offices, even judicial posts, were filled by foreigners, often ignorant of the native language. The Germans were systematically favored; the Italians were systematically degraded. Espionage finished the work of corruption. Even to converse it was necessary to walk out of ear-range of walls. Stand still in the streets, and a soldier came up to question your business. Your correspondence was searched. To study, even to think, was a political offence, punishable with perpetual imprisonment. The wealthy Lombard who would live at peace with the prying Government, had only two courses open to him: either to earn the execration of his countrymen by boundless servility to their oppressors, or to play the fool like Brutus at the court of Tarquin. Frivolity and dissipation were, in the eyes of the paternal government, the most precious tokens of good citizenship. But these virtues might be overdone: a dangerous error! The son of the Marchioness Soncino was among the persons doomed to exile in February, 1848; when his mother sought to excuse him, affirming that he had never meddled with politics, the Director of Police replied that *he spent too much money, and was too popular*.

Most of the facts here set down are patent to the widest notoriety; they are all attested by an irresistible mass of evidence of every kind. They are not the less true because the apologists of Austria choose to

deny them. If the old Austrian administration was such a blessing to Lombardy as they tell us it was, surely its beneficial effects must have been still more strongly felt at home ; but its own favored metropolitan province rose against it with loathing and execration, and shook it off for ever as an unclean thing. Is it likely that Lombardy was more wisely, justly, and humanely treated by the Imperial Government than Austria Proper ?

By no law, save that of the strong hand, could the right of self-government be denied to a people such as that of Lombardy, who had become so rich, so prosperous, and so physically powerful, through the cultivation of their own native resources, and the exercise of their own inborn energies. Austria's tenure of Lombardy and Venice is simply that of forcible possession ; her pretended hereditary title is a baseless figment, that outrages all history. She herself is too well aware of the weakness of that claim which others have set up for her, and she is content to rest her title on the treaty of Vienna,—a treaty which she herself, in common with every great power of Europe, has broken at pleasure, and one to which neither Lombardy nor Venice was a consulted or subscribing party. Iniquitous force was the sole foundation of Austria's rule in Italy ; violence and perfidy were its means of action, and its aim and end was spoliation. In comparison with the other provinces of the empire, the taxation of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom bore an inordinate ratio to its population. Many millions sterling, extorted from Italian industry, went annually to recruit the dilapidated finances of the Viennese exchequer ; and in order that this system of pillage might be prosecuted with the more ease and safety, that the Imperial prerogative of misgoverning 4,500,000 Italians might not be endangered by the appearance of good government in any other part of the Penin-

sula, the Austrian Emperor for three-and-thirty years absolutely prohibited every extension of liberty and every reform of abuses throughout the states inhabited by the other 18 or 19 millions of Italians.

CHAPTER VI.

ITALY.

THE WAR IN LOMBARDY.

WHEN the news of the revolution in Vienna reached Milan, the people flocked in great numbers to the Government-house, and demanded the release of all political prisoners, and the formation of a National Guard. The soldiers on duty at the palace fired a volley over the heads of the crowd, as it is said ; at all events no one was wounded : still such an impression was made that a second discharge would have sent the people flying ; but just at the moment of wavering, a boy of sixteen drew out a pistol and fired at the soldiery, exclaiming “ *Viva l'Italia!* ” The shot and the cry had a magical effect ; the crowd rushed forward ; the guard was overpowered in a moment ; the vice-governor, O'Donnell, was made prisoner ; and the tri-color banner was planted on the palace. Some Croats afterwards fired on the people and killed five or six of them ; and this became the signal for a general rising. Instead of sending all his force to clear the streets, Radetski hesitated, and withdrew his men within their respective barracks. By the time he had made up his mind to act, the affair was decided, the city was barricaded, and it was impossible to retake it without a bombardment. The events in Vienna sufficiently account for the marshal's indecision ; for if he ordered a second massacre of the Milanese, he knew not but that he would have to answer for it with his

head before a Constitutional Government in the capital. His policy was to gain time for the purpose of communicating, if possible, with Vienna, before he resorted to the last extremity of a bombardment. He acted, therefore, only on the defensive, keeping possession of the citadel, a few wide streets practicable for artillery, and the city walls and gates, so as to hinder the insurgents from receiving succor from without. The Milanese meanwhile summoned the surrounding people to their aid, in despatches sent by small balloons ; they contested their native streets inch by inch, and really displayed the most exalted valor : but for their success in defeating, without arms and ammunition (they had not more than five or six hundred guns and pistols among them) 12,000 regular troops, well provided with cavalry and artillery, and taking the city out of their hands at a cost of only 100 killed, 250 wounded, and a few houses burned or sacked, the men of Milan were certainly indebted to something else than their own bravery.

The conflict was kept up day and night until the 23d. The great object of the people was to get possession of one of the gates, in order that the communication with their friends outside should be opened. It was not until the evening of the 23d that they succeeded at the Porta Tosa. A set of brave young fellows made up bundles of fascines, which they rolled before them, firing from the shelter thus afforded, while a flanking fire from the houses on each side covered their advance. In this way, after long efforts, the artillerymen were picked off one by one—the Milanese being sharpshooters of perfect aim—until at last a dash was made, and the gate and the houses covering it were set on fire. Radetski's position was no longer tenable, for Milan is a place of no military strength whatever ; he therefore began at once his retreat in the direction of Verona.

The example of Milan was followed by most of the other cities of Lombardy, and by Venice, which declared itself again a Republic. The fate of the Austrian rule depended on Mantua and Verona. Had Radetski been shut out from these towns, he must have been forced to capitulate; but both were preserved for Austria, as well as the two less important fortresses dependent on them, Legnano and Peschiera, by the perfidy of persons in high station. In Mantua the bishop, in Verona some nobleman speaking in the name of the Viceroy, persuaded the people that the panic-stricken Austrian troops desired nothing more than a momentary halt within their walls, while preparing finally to evacuate Italy, and that it would be good policy to afford them every facility for their retreat. Deceived by these representations, the townspeople allowed Radetski to secure himself in the military centre of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, in fortresses almost impregnable; and from that moment the independent cause was virtually lost.

On the very day that Radetski began his retreat, the Piedmontese army under Charles Albert crossed the frontier, and on the 27th its vanguard arrived under the walls of Milan. The king, however, declined to enter the city, "until he should have become worthy of so brave a people, by gaining a victory over the Austrians." But many causes prevented the accomplishment of that purpose,—chiefly his own bad generalship, his selfishness, jealousy, and double dealing, and the imbecility of the Provisional Government.

That Government included Casati, Borromeo, Litta, and other men of worth and talent, who had assumed authority whilst the fight was pending in the streets. Often afterwards did they take credit to themselves for the civic heroism they displayed in thus exposing themselves to the superior danger of such a position; for, said they, had the Austrians been successful, our

lives would have been the first forfeited. But they were not so brave as they wished themselves to be thought; in fact, their official conduct warrants the belief that their chief care was to make themselves safe in any contingency. During the whole struggle they abstained from every kind of measure that could be regarded as seriously imperilling the Austrian interests; and when the war was over, they might fairly represent themselves to the victor as loyal subjects, who, by appearing to fall in with the popular humor, had been enabled to control it and render its outbreaks harmless. Some of the members of the Provisional Government were Monarchists, others were Republicans; for their mutual convenience they agreed upon a perfectly neutral policy—the bane of all popular enthusiasm. Their administration was a series of enormous blunders in matters of police, finance, military affairs, &c. The direction of the police was committed to a triumvirate that really swayed the whole political power of the State, and the ablest member of which was the Baron Sopransi, a zealous partisan of Austria, and the brother-in-law of General Welden, by whose orders, and under whose own eyes, seven-and-twenty Lombard volunteers were first mutilated and then shot in the town ditch of Trent.

The parishes of Lombardy are grouped together in districts, over each of which there is a commissary of police, who exercises a dictatorial power like that of the Turkish cadis. The first act of the revolutionary Government should have been to remove these men, yet they were all allowed to remain and plot for the return of their old masters. The country was overrun with vagabonds whom the Austrians let loose from the bagnio of Mantua, and with pretended deserters from the Austrian troops. In many a district chief town the commissary had a little prætorian guard, composed of these and other bad characters; and by this means

the Austrians were regularly informed of all the movements of the Lombards, whilst the latter remained in ignorance of what it most imported them to know. It was also in consequence of this permanent conspiracy, tolerated by the Government, that the provender and other things intended for the Piedmontese army fell several times into the hands of the enemy; many villages were burned, and the lives of landowners were threatened by revolted peasants. The great bulk of the rural population took no part in these disorders, but they were afraid to venture on putting them down, for the language of the commissary and his satellites was always this:—"Radetski will soon be back; of that you may be very certain. Neither he nor his men will ever be driven out of this country; and when he returns there will be a day of reckoning for all—those that shall have remained true to him will have their share of what shall be taken from the malignants: and as for those who cannot give a good account of themselves, they will be nailed to their own doors. You know what you have to expect, so act accordingly."

There is a powder manufactory at Lembrate, a few leagues from Milan. One morning in the beginning of May, when no one dreamed of the possible approach of the Austrians, it became known in the capital that the Lembrate magazine had been attacked during the night by a party of Austrians in disguise. Who then had guided them? How had they advanced almost to the gates of Milan without any notice being taken of their march? The mystery remained unsolved; and the director of the police maintained a disdainful silence. Another day the *générale* was suddenly beaten, and the National Guard hurried to the city jail, from which five hundred thieves and robbers were in the act of making their escape. These fellows were all armed with muskets, and had their pockets filled with ammunition; they had seized the keepers of the prison

and locked them up. After promptly quelling the revolt, and securing all the prisoners, the National Guard handed the keepers over to justice, as guilty of having armed the culprits, and connived at their escape. There was the more ground for such a suspicion, because the prison keepers had not been changed after the Revolution ; and a considerable amount of Austrian coin was found in the pockets of both prisoners and keepers. The matter was nevertheless allowed to drop.

The finances were not better administered than the police : they were managed on a bad system, and by knavish hands. The most shameful embezzlements were practised in the Ministry of War. The able and earnest Count Litta, who at first held that office, having been forced to resign, he was succeeded by Collegno, an honest, but weak man, whose passive character was more acceptable to the Provisional Government. The Paymaster-general was a merchant notorious for having committed four fraudulent bankruptcies. The Lombard army and the free corps wanted shoes, coats, great-coats, and almost every object of prime necessity. The arming of the people was stopped for want of money, and yet the incomes of all the affluent families were poured into the public treasury. Nothing was talked of in the town but the audacious robberies committed by one or another member of the administration.

The whole population of Lombardy were eager to take up arms in the cause of independence. In twenty-four hours an army of partisans might have been set on foot that would have been a most useful auxiliary to the regular forces. But every man who offered himself in the capacity of a volunteer was treated with indignity by the Piedmontese officers, and by the Lombard Ministry of War, which was entirely subservient to the King of Sardinia. Those volunteers who had been accepted in the first days of the Revolution were left

without pay or provisions, exposed to needless and profitless dangers, and persecuted in every way that low cunning could contrive. The reason of this was that Charles Albert, intent before all things on the acquisition of the iron crown, would rather have had Lombardy remain for ever enthralled to Austria, than that it should owe its freedom to any arms besides his own. Therefore it was that he sedulously deprecated French intervention, rejected the many offers of service made to the national cause by foreign officers and generals, maltreated the Lombard volunteers, and received as ungraciously as possible the soldiers sent to him by the other Italian States.

Immediately after its installation, the Provisional Government invoked the aid of the other States of Italy. It was not, of course, to be expected that an Austrian Grand Duke of Tuscany, a Roman Pontiff, and a Neapolitan Bourbon, should willingly assist the house of Savoy and the revolted population of Milan in driving the Austrians out of the Peninsula, especially when their troops were to be at the command of a man who complacently allowed his flatterers to designate him as the King of Italy. The invitation to those potentates was merely an act of courtesy, and meant nothing, except inasmuch as it was addressed to their subjects. The people of the several States did, indeed, respond to the appeal, and large contingents were furnished by Parma, Modena, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples; but the arts employed to neutralize the efforts of these troops were, unhappily, too successful.

When the Piedmontese army reached Milan on the 27th of March, Radetski was still within a distance of five-and-twenty miles of the city. Had Charles Albert made two or three forced marches, he might easily have prevented the concentration of the Austrian forces, and extinguished the war. Instead of this, he allowed Radetski to pursue his march without molestation for a

week, and shut himself up securely in Verona. On the 8th of April, Charles Albert forced the Austrian lines on the Mincio in three places between Mantua and Verona. He then crossed the Adige at Pontone to the north of Verona, cutting off Radetski from the valley of the Trent, and from a junction with Nugent, who was advancing to his aid from the north-east. After some manœuvring in this direction, the Piedmontese army was obliged to fall back on its former position, and on the 22d, Nugent brought Radetski a reinforcement of 15,000 men.

Durando, the commander of the 14,000 Roman auxiliaries, might have prevented this calamity, but evidently would not. Durando was a brave officer, of unblemished reputation, who had served with distinction in the civil wars of Spain; but the hopes excited by his name were in all respects miserably disappointed. His head-quarters were at Ferrara, from which no entreaties of the Milanese could induce him to move, until his troops themselves forced him to cross the Po, and march against the enemy. Immediately there appeared a manifesto from Pius IX., announcing that the sole mission of his army was to defend the integrity of the Roman territory, and reiterating the injunction laid upon the general never to assume the offensive against Austria. This manifesto, which was said to have been followed by secret orders to General Durando to fall back upon Ferrara, excited a formidable commotion in Rome and the provinces, and an insurrection seemed imminent. Charles Albert sent word to Durando that, having actually entered upon the theatre of the war, he had thereby become bound to obey no other orders than those of the commander-in-chief, namely, himself, Charles Albert, and must therefore march, without regard to any injunction to the contrary which he might receive from other quarters. The Roman army supported the protest of Charles Albert, and the popula-

tion of Rome insisted that the Pope should retract his manifesto. Durando resolved to march, and was some days afterwards authorized to do so by Pius IX. himself. There is reason to fear, however, that the Pope's secret orders remained still in force. No other supposition can afford a plausible explanation for his general's subsequent conduct. We cannot acquit them both; we must condemn the one or the other. Either the Pope was guilty of duplicity, or Durando of base perfidy.

After crossing the Po, the Roman general regulated his movements with great exactness by those of Nugent, advancing as the latter retired, retrograding as he advanced, and always studiously shunning an engagement; whilst the Austrians devastated everything in their way, and seized town after town. At length, having seen Nugent make his unopposed entry into Verona, Durando wheeled round and took up his quarters in Vicenza, which had sustained a bombardment of several hours by Nugent, and, with the help of some corps of volunteers under General Antonini, had compelled him to raise the siege.

Meanwhile Charles Albert had laid siege to Peschiera on the 18th of May. The Austrians attempted a diversion for its relief, but were foiled and beaten at Goito. Peschiera was taken on the 30th, after two days' fighting, and Charles Albert established his headquarters there. Whilst he was busy pushing his conquests further north along the banks of the Lago di Garda, Radetski made an unexpected sortie from Verona, and appeared before Vicenza with 30,000 men. The King of Sardinia, who had just taken Rivoli after a sanguinary battle, sent a courier to Durando to know how long he could hold out. "Six or eight days, at least," was the reply; and Charles Albert took his measures accordingly to succor the town. No attempt was made to prevent the Austrians from getting possession of the

heights that commanded the town. This was a misfortune, but it was not irreparable. General Durando seemed to think otherwise, for the bombardment was no sooner begun than he hoisted the white flag. The citizens instantly compelled him to withdraw it and continue the fight; but, in the very midst of the engagement, the unlucky white flag again appeared on another side of the town. The enraged inhabitants fired upon it and brought it down; but though the sign of surrender fell, the thing it represented was realized; the town capitulated after eight hours' fighting, with an army within its walls for its defence, and another army at the distance of a few hours' march to succor it. Durando had stipulated that he should be allowed to quit the city with his soldiers and such of the citizens as chose to accompany him, with arms and baggage, and he engaged for himself and his troops not to take up arms against Austria for three months.

Thinking that the Austrians were still before Vicenza, Charles Albert marched against Verona on the 12th of June; but already Radetski had returned thither, and the Piedmontese were compelled to retire within their lines. In the subsequent part of the month Radetski captured Padua and Palma Nuova, and made prize of a large quantity of artillery and warlike stores. The road to Vienna and Inspruck now lay open to him, and he was master of the whole Venetian territory, with the exception of the capital. Thither General Pepe, the commander of the Neapolitan contingent, retired. The regular soldiers under his command left him, obeying the order for their recall issued by the King of Naples. A few legions of volunteers alone remained with him; a third at least of those that had entered Lombardy had returned home in disgust, and told their countrymen who were preparing to march for the seat of war, "They do not wish for us there. Why should we thrust our services upon them against their will?"

In the beginning of July we find the Piedmontese army occupying a line of about thirty miles in length, —from near Mantua on its right, to Rivoli on its left. The head-quarters, which had been at Peschiera, were removed to Vallegio, and afterwards to Riverbella, and the strength of the army was gradually accumulated on the right wing in order to invest Mantua, whilst the left wing was most imprudently weakened. The lines of Rivoli were not defended by more than 3000 troops, and those of Somma Campagna, extending from Busso-longo on the Upper Adige, to Vallegio on the Mincio, by not more than 5000.

If the siege of an impregnable place like Mantua served no other purpose, it at least enabled Charles Albert to rid himself of most of his remaining auxiliaries. The students of the University of Pavia, and those of the lyceums and colleges of Milan, formed themselves into battalions, and demanded to be sent forthwith against the enemy. They were ordered to Mantua, where they were encamped directly within range of the Austrian cannons, as if on purpose that they might be cut to pieces. One hundred Swiss volunteers shared the same fate; two only of them survived, the other ninety-eight were killed,—not in battle, but passively, when at rest in their camp. The indignation expressed by the people of Milan at the intelligence received from the camp before Mantua, was too formidable to be slighted, and the tents were removed to a more suitable position.

The Tuscan volunteers were made victims to the same diabolical policy. They were employed in the nominal blockade of Mantua, being posted on the marshy side of the town, and in that deadly position they were left without relief for a whole week. The lake, as it is called, that encompasses one half of Mantua, is a pestilential marsh, extending to the very walls of the town. There the Tuscan soldiers remained,

plunged in the fetid mud and stagnant water, without even the consolation of knowing that their sufferings were of the smallest avail; for the pretended blockade of Mantua existed only on the side next the lake, whilst everywhere else there was free ingress and egress.

Radetski was meanwhile preparing to seize the game which his unskilful antagonist was playing into his hands. Seeing that Charles Albert's whole attention was directed towards the south, he kept him in that disposition by well-contrived feints. A little victory gained by General Bava over 3000 or 4000 Austrians at Governolo, near the junction of the Mincio and the Po, also contributed to the same end, and filled the king and his army with fallacious hopes. But suddenly, on the 22d July, news arrived that the Austrians had been quietly passing the Upper Adige, at the foot of the mountain that overlooks Rivoli, and had already descended on La Corona, driving before them the few Piedmontese that were stationed there. Next day they pushed on from La Corona, and carried the plateau and all the lines of Rivoli; whilst another Austrian force, 25,000 strong, under General Aspre, assaulted the lines of Somma Campagna. The 5000 men that defended them made a gallant resistance; but the force of the assailants was overwhelming, and the Austrians regained the whole territory between the Upper Adige and the Lago di Garda and the Mincio, from the foot of Montebaldo, and from Bussolongo to Valleggio, Peschiera being placed in a state of complete isolation.

Getting together nearly 30,000 men, Charles Albert advanced on the evening of the 25th against the heights between Bussolongo and Valleggio. The decisive battle, which was fought next day, bears the name of Somma Campagna, where the centre of the Austrian force was established. It lasted from five in

the morning to five in the evening, the Piedmontese fighting with desperate courage, until Radetski came up with a reserve of nearly 20,000 men from Verona, and the Austrians obtained a complete victory.

On the 27th, Charles Albert began his retreat. In the beginning of the month he is said to have had an army of 80,000 men. The corps with which he marched from the Mincio to the Oglio, scarcely amounted to 20,000 men. He arrived on the 3d of August at Milan, where he idly boasted that he would make a stand beneath its walls. The Milanese took earnest measures for defence; barricades were raised, and a large amount of property was sacrificed by the burning of all the houses of the suburbs, near the *Porta Romana*; but on the 6th Charles Albert began his retreat to his own dominions, having entered into a capitulation with Radetski, and on the following day the Austrian marshal again ruled in Milan.

Two or three days afterwards an armistice of forty days was published between the Sardinians and the Austrians. It restored the *status quo ante bellum*, and provided for the evacuation not only of Peschiera and Placentia, but of Venice also. A part only of the latter arrangement could be effected; the Piedmontese troops were withdrawn from Venice; but the city, once more the seat of a republic, regained its independence.

On every other point things rapidly returned to their old state. Parma and Modena again adopted the Austrian system, and General Welden even made an incursion into the Legations and occupied Bologna. The inhabitants, however, rose against him and expelled him; the Pope remonstrated, and Welden was censured and recalled.

On the morning of the day when the Austrians re-entered Milan, a message was sent from their camp an-

nouncing that all the men between eighteen and forty years of age, who should be found in the city, should be immediately enrolled in the Croat regiments, and sent across the mountains; those who preferred exile were to be allowed until eight o'clock in the evening to quit the city. The alternative was eagerly seized by the unfortunate population, more than two-thirds of whom, of both sexes, young and old, rich and poor, crowded out of the gate opposite to that through which the victor was to make his entry. Ere the last rising-ground was passed that would shut out the desolated city from their view, the wretched multitude turned with one accord to take their last look of that modern Jerusalem. The sky was red above Milan, and dense volumes of smoke were rising to the clouds. What fire was that? Was it the conflagration of the suburbs not yet extinguished? Was the Austrian beginning his vindictive work of destruction? Or had the flames been lighted by patriot hands, in the desperate resolve to leave nothing to the enemy but smoking ruins? All was vague conjecture, and to this hour the matter remains involved in impenetrable mystery; only a great number of mansions half consumed by the flames, the ordnance establishment, and the military hospital of St. Ambrose, bear testimony in their ruins to the magnitude of the disaster.

Order now reigned in Milan, that is to say, Austrian order—order as understood by the men who planned and perpetrated the massacres of January. The convicts of Porta Nuova were set at liberty, and joined the soldiers in the work of plundering the deserted houses, the churches, and the national museums. Generals Rivaira and Roger, detained in Milan by illness, were condemned to death. Various circumstances rendering the process of confiscation inconvenient to the authorities, recourse was had to a more profitable system of forced contributions, the management of which was in-

trusted to a committee, headed by that very Baron Sopransi whom we have spoken of as director of the Milanese police under the Provisional Government. The system was not sparingly or transiently enforced. On the 11th of November, Radetski issued a decree, in which, after a preamble on the imperial clemency, he calls upon some two hundred families, specified by name, to supply him with two millions of livres (say 80,000*l.*), more than half the sum to be extorted from five of the most illustrious, viz. Visconti, Borromeo, Litta, Pio, and Casati. No fear that hatred of Austria will soon die out in Lombardy!

CHAPTER VII.

ITALY.

THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE—PROJECTED FEDERATION OF THE
ITALIAN STATES—ROYAL VILLANY IN NAPLES—THE WAR
BETWEEN SICILY AND NAPLES—REVOLUTION IN ROME.

FIVE months had elapsed since Venice, forsaken by all her allies, had singly maintained her independence. Within that time her sanguine hopes of French intervention were disappointed; the Sardinian fleet and garrison were withdrawn, in conformity with the terms of the armistice; the blockade was pressed more closely, until it was broken by the French squadron, which then withdrew, and the Austrian fleet reappeared; but being again threatened by that of Sardinia, it returned to Trieste, and the blockade was only kept up on the land side.

The revolt of Venice, like that of Milan, immediately followed the news of the revolution in Vienna, which was published by Count Palfy, the Governor, in the theatre, on the evening of the 17th of March. Next morning the people congregated in St. Mark's Place, and effected by force the deliverance of their venerated leaders, Manini and Tommaseo, whose civic virtue had been rewarded by Austria according to her wont. As public functionaries they had dared, in December, 1847, to address memorials to the Austrian Government, praying that it would perform its own promises and observe its own laws. For this offence they were

thrown into prison, from which they were released by their countrymen to become, one of them President and the other Minister of the resuscitated Republic. The expulsion of the Austrians was effected at Venice with even more surprising facility than at Milan. Marinowich, the Commander of the Arsenal, was slain in the first outbreak, and Count Zichy, the Military Commander, whom seven-and-twenty years' residence in Venice had made more than half Italian in feeling, withdrew his troops without a blow. The Republic of St. Mark was unanimously proclaimed; but the Venetians were censured as schismatics by the predominant party, which at that time advocated the scheme for one united kingdom of Upper Italy; Manini was induced to surrender the government to a Sardinian commissary; Charles Albert lent the city a small sum of money and a garrison of 2000 men, and for the first time in the history of Italy the cross of Savoy superseded the winged lion of the Republic. Upon the defeat of the Sardinian army, however, the people withdrew the conditional allegiance they had pledged to a sovereign who merited neither their respect nor their gratitude, and once more they proclaimed the independent government of their own worthy political chief, Manini.

Since the occupation of the mainland by the Austrian armies, and of the Adriatic by their cruisers, the commerce of Venice has wholly ceased, and not a florin reaches it from abroad. The average monthly expenditure, estimated in July at 88,000*l.*, has since been augmented by the arrival of multitudes of volunteers from all parts of Italy, who day by day have flocked to that last rampart of Italian independence. To meet the increased demand on her impoverished exchequer, Venice began by applying to all the Italian towns, and to some foreign ones, for a loan; subscriptions were everywhere opened, but they remained

almost blank. It was then proposed to pawn some of the magnificent objects of art with which Venice abounds, but the administration sternly withstood every proposal of the kind. "These treasures," they said, "do not belong exclusively to the existing generation ; our forefathers have bequeathed to us in these masterpieces something of their genius and their souls which we must transmit to our children. We must and will defend and save our country without despoiling it." Meanwhile the absolute cessation of all trade and employment demanded the most strenuous efforts to succor the poorer classes. The Venetian capitalists promptly responded to the call. The Government issued bills for four millions of florins, the payment of which was guaranteed by the personal liability of twenty of the wealthiest men in Venice ; and such was the confidence placed in the honor of those generous men, that whilst Venice was attacked by sea and land her paper money passed current at par throughout all Italy. According to a recent calculation, the citizens of Venice have contributed to the republic in the course of the year, either in cash or in liabilities, a sum of thirty millions of florins.

Every besieged city must endure sad hardships, but some such there are of which Venice, from her peculiar position, has a melancholy monopoly. Can the inhabitant of London or Paris form any adequate conception of what is implied in the word blockade when said of a city built amidst the waters of the sea, with canals for streets and ponds for gardens, and deriving from abroad all its consumable stores, from the least green thing that grows to the very water for drinking ? Nothing but the patient strength for which the soft Venetian temperament has always been remarkable, could have made it possible to prolong resistance under such circumstances. Yet the resistance was cheerful

and unanimous ; there was no murmuring or railing, and, above all, there was no talk of surrender.

The means of defence which Venice possesses are as follows. The least distance from the city to the mainland is two English miles, measured along the railway bridge. The line of shore opposite the city is occupied for a length of sixty Italian miles by thirty-six forts, all in perfect condition, and mounted with fourteen hundred pieces of artillery. The duty of guarding the coast is performed by a small garrison of fifteen hundred men. They are embarked, in crews of fifteen, on board one hundred gunboats, which are incessantly plying up and down along the shore. On the side of the sea the blockade was in December rendered impracticable by the presence of six French, sixteen Sardinian, and thirteen Venetian vessels. The land army defending Venice consists of nearly twenty thousand men, almost all of them volunteers,—Sicilians, Neapolitans, Tuscans, Romans, Lombards, Tyrolese, Hungarians, and Venetians. Many of the legions are commanded by French officers, and the discipline and good conduct of all are excellent. Not one case of desertion occurred during the last six months.

There have been several encounters between the Austrians and the Venetians, in which the latter have been very successful. For instance, on the 22d of October, the fort of the Cavallino, occupied by about 250 Austrians, with three pieces of cannon, was taken, and the Austrians were pursued until they passed the Prave. On the 27th of October, General Pepe led a sortie of 1500 volunteers against the fortified positions of the Austrians at Mestre and Fusino, whom they defeated, killing and wounding 200, and capturing 500.

As soon as the triumph of the Austrian arms in

Lombardy was complete, England hastened to offer, in conjunction with France, the mediation which she had refused when solicited by Austria herself in the spring. The tardy proposal was met with contemptuous coldness ; it was not absolutely rejected, but so well was the diplomatic art of fencing employed to parry it, that the year was gone before a conference was opened, or before it was even determined whether or not there should be any conference at all. Towards the end of June, Austria had offered to negotiate with the Provisional Government of Milan on the basis of the entire independence of Lombardy, conditional on its taking upon itself 100,000,000 florins of the Austrian debt. The Milanese Government could not but reject an accommodation from the benefit of which Venice was excluded ; but in December it seemed most unlikely that anything but force of arms would ever again extort such an offer from Austria.

Meanwhile the armistice between Austria and Sardinia was renewed, and Charles Albert employed the interval in diligently recruiting and reorganizing his forces ; whether it was that he seriously contemplated another campaign, or that the enemy, impressed by his imposing attitude, might adopt so much the more moderate a tone in the approaching conference. To obtain a favorable peace was, perhaps, the sum of his hopes ; but events were ripening both in his own dominions and in the rest of the Peninsula, which portended far different results. Federation and independence were become the fixed ideas of the Italian mind, and the governments were forced to bow before them. Democratic ministries were established, and the ordinary heading of their proclamations was, "*Viva la Costituente Italiana !*"

The celebrated Abbate Gioberti is the author of the following plan of the *Costituente*.

The Italian Constituent Assembly is to prepare a

federal compact, which, while it respects the existence of the different states and their respective forms of government, shall tend to insure the liberty, union, and independence of Italy. All the states are to return an equal number of representatives, and the latter, three hundred in number, are to be elected by the respective chambers of deputies. The Assembly to meet at Rome a month after the approval of the present project by the three Italian parliaments. The deputies of Lombardy are to be chosen by the Lombard Consulta, and those of the Venetian provinces by the committees and the assembly of Venice. Those of Modena and Reggio are to be elected by the Sardinian chamber of deputies. The Confederation is to consist of the kingdom of Upper Italy, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the pontifical dominions, the kingdom of Naples and the kingdom of Sicily. The Confederation is to have an army, a fleet, a treasury, and a diplomatic representation abroad. Its central authority is to be composed of a legislative congress and a permanent executive power; the Congress to consist of two chambers, in one of which each state is to be equally represented, and in the other the representation is to be proportioned to the population. Both are to be elective. The members of the first chamber are to be elected by the constituted powers of each state, and those of the second by the people. The executive power is to be exercised by a responsible president and a council of ministers equally responsible. The president is appointed for a limited period by the legislative council, and the ministers by the president. The Congress is to deliberate on all matters of general interest for the Confederation; to interfere in case of a collision between confederate states and foreign countries, or of a mutual difference between confederate states, &c.; all custom duties on goods passing from one state to another to be abolished, and the foreign tariff is to be

based on the principle of free trade. The Confederation proclaims liberty of the press, individual liberty, free municipal institutions, the right of association and of petition, civil, political, and religious equality, &c.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany expressed his hearty adherence to the design of an Italian Confederation; Charles Albert acquiesced in it with probably much less cordiality; the Pope had no longer a voice in the matter; and the King of Naples was bent upon thwarting it by every means in his power. To that base, cruel, and cowardly monarch belongs the distinction of having committed the most appalling crime that stains the revolutionary records of 1848.

On the 14th of May, the Deputies assembled to deliberate on the formula of the oath which was to be taken by the King and the members of the Chambers, in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore. The Deputies were resolved to swear fidelity to the King and to the Constitution of the 29th of January, "without prejudice to the changes which the Chamber might think proper to introduce into it." This latitude was positively given to the Chambers by the decree which promulgated the constitution. Ferdinand demanded that the oath should be taken without restrictions, and several deputations, which waited on him to entreat that he would consent to the formula adopted by the Deputies, received for answer that his resolution could not be shaken.

The intentions of the King were then clearly apparent, and were well in accordance with the presence at the palace of the infamous Del Carretto. Cambosso, his sinister lieutenant, and his associates, for some days past had been going through the popular quarters of the city to prepare almost openly the horrible reaction which was to fill the city with ruin and blood. The Deputies and National Guards then resolved on resistance, and for the first time Naples beheld barricades erected. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 15th,

all the principal streets were completely blocked up, and the city presented the most extraordinary appearance. The Royal Swiss troops, the body-guard, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with lighted matches, thronged round the palace, and established themselves on different points.

The bold demeanor of the Liberal party intimidated Ferdinand, and, as usual with him in all critical moments, the subject of his thoughts was how he might take back by stratagem the concessions which he was ready to make. At eleven o'clock he made known that he was ready to yield to the wishes of the Deputies; he announced that the troops were about to withdraw, and begged the National Guard to remove the barricades and retire. The character of the King, however, was too well known, and the trap too apparent. The National Guard replied, that it would not quit the barricades until the decree had been issued, and the Deputies exhorted them to maintain this resolution. Things were in this state when an accident brought on the conflict. A National Guard having fallen down, his musket, which was probably cocked, went off. The National Guards placed behind the barricade considered it was an act of aggression on the part of the Swiss, and fired. The latter returned it, and the engagement, once begun, could not be put a stop to.

The National Guard of Naples amounted to about 10,000 men; among them were nearly 2000 nobles and 6000 *employés*.* These took no part in the affair, so that the force of the National Guard was reduced to about 2000 men; to which number may be added about 500 Calabrians, who were at Naples at the time. This little band performed prodigies of valor. At Sainte Brigitte, the Swiss mounted five times to the as-

* Persons who held places, of different grades, under government.

sault, and five times they were repulsed. But the small quantity of ammunition possessed by the National Guards was soon exhausted, and the defenders of the barricades retired into the houses, whence a shower of projectiles was hurled on the heads of the troops. The artillery then entered the Largo del Castello, and a heavy fire of grape was poured on the barricades which still held out. The Swiss, who had been joined by the Royal Guard, pursued the National Guard. The houses to which they had retired were entered, the doors broken open, and women, old men, and children were slaughtered, and in many instances their bodies thrown from the windows. Where a door could not be broken open, the cannon were brought to bear upon it, and the inhabitants fell victims to their involuntary hospitality. Robbery and plunder were added to these indescribable scenes of desolation. The Swiss, who were the first to arrive, laid their hands on the money and all such valuables as they thought worth taking. Then came the Royal Guards, who carried off furniture, linen, and other similar movables; lastly, the Lazzaroni, to whom the refuse was acceptable. Murder was committed under the slightest pretext, such as a simple political imputation, and frequently from no other incitement than the pillage of a richly-furnished house.

In the beginning of the affray the lower orders seemed disposed to side with the National Guard, but *being offered by the king and the troops the privilege of pillage*, they went over to their side. Unheard-of atrocities were perpetrated by the Lazzaroni and the troops. In one house were shot a father, mother, and four children. Other victims were dragged alive through the streets to be butchered, struck as they went along and insulted by the police and the soldiers, who compelled them to cry "*Viva il Re!*"* When

* "Long live the King."

they refused they were pricked with the points of bayonets. The Royal Guard murdered two sons of the Marquis Vassatori in his own palace : the father went stark mad. The emissaries of Del Carretto, and, according to some accounts, Del Carretto himself, were employed in goading on the rabble to these acts of atrocity.

The massacre lasted eight hours, and might have continued longer but for the indignant interference of the French Admiral Baudin. The law of nations having been violated by the Neapolitan Government, the admiral informed the king, that if the disorder was not stopped within one hour, he would bring up his fleet from Castel-a-Mare and land 9000 men to defend the rights of humanity and of nations. When all was over the National Guard was suppressed, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, martial law was proclaimed, and the white Bourbon flag was substituted for the tricolor.

Who shall blame the Sicilians if they abhor the yoke of such a king as Ferdinand, and yearn to be quit for ever of his incorrigible race?

When Sicily rose against her Bourbon tyrant in 1847, and again in January, 1848, she claimed her right to the constitution of 1812, guaranteed by England, and annulled almost as soon as granted, by the vile, faithless court of Naples. That constitution recognised the union of Naples and Sicily ; but the latter, in the intoxication of victory, annulled the union ; Sicily was declared independent, and the crown was offered on the 10th of July to the Duke of Genoa, son of the King of Sardinia. The counsels of Lord Minto, who was then on a political mission in Italy, contributed not a little in determining this event. The Sicilians being about to choose their form of government, he advised them to adopt the monarchical rather than the republican, and to select an Italian prince for their

king ; at the same time he signified, in the name of his government, that it would acknowledge any sovereign whom the Sicilians might choose when he was in actual possession of the throne. The offer made to the Duke of Genoa was not accepted, for Charles Albert was afraid of involving himself in fresh entanglements ; and the throne of Sicily remained vacant. But the vacancy was never acknowledged by the King of Naples, who always regarded himself as the legitimate sovereign of the island, and prepared to regain his rights by force of arms.

The Neapolitan expedition set sail on the 29th of August. It consisted of two frigates and twenty steamers, carrying altogether 14,000 men. On the 31st it anchored off Reggio, south of Messina, and the news of its arrival reached Palermo the same day, and would seem to have taken the Sicilian government by surprise ; not that the preparations in which the King of Naples had been engaged for some months had been a secret for any one ; but the Sicilians had rested secure in the belief that the French and English admirals would in no case allow the Neapolitan vessels to pass out of the Bay of Naples. They did allow them, however ; and, in the plenitude of their courtesy, they even permitted the King's fleet to bombard Messina ; but when that ruthless deed of vengeance had been executed, and not until then, the French and English admirals did interfere, and put a stop to all further hostilities. Why did they not do so sooner ? Their intervention would have been no less effectual ; and, if justifiable at all, it was as much so before the bombardment as after it. The only explanation offered for this mystery rests upon the supersubtle diplomatic quibble, that there was no intervention in the ordinary sense of the word in this case, for the armistice "was not *imposed* on the Neapolitan government," although it is owned that "it was called for in a most pressing manner, and in a way to

admit of no refusal." The King of Naples did not understand this nice distinction, for he protested vehemently against the coercion put upon him ; the Sicilians showed themselves no better adepts at hair-splitting : and we cannot blame them if they generally expressed in very strong terms their disgust at the paltering conduct of their two allies by which they had been so disastrously beguiled.

The unexpected arrival of the Neapolitan armament before Messina, instead of striking terror into the Sicilians, stirred all their energies into convulsive activity, and excited to the highest degree their hatred of Naples, and all that belonged to it. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said to the assembled parliament, on laying before it his despatches from Messina, "Gentlemen, we bring you good news." The whole house, members, strangers and all, instantly responded with shouts of joy ; and then the Chamber, with a dignity worthy of the Roman senate, passed disdainfully to the order of the day. At night Palermo was brilliantly illuminated, and the people went about hurrahing for the *good news*, singing warlike and patriotic songs, and heaping curses and abuses on King *Bomba* (one of their countless nicknames for Ferdinand). The Government instantly put in vigorous operation the measures most necessary for the defence of the country. The National Guard had been organized and partially armed in the course of the summer ; it was now *mobilized*, that is, made liable to serve in any part of the island ; and it was decreed that lists should be opened for the enrolment of volunteers, and that seven camps should be formed at Milazzo, Taormina, Catania, Syracuse, Girgenti, Trapani, and Palermo. The Minister of War was appointed commander-in-chief ; an extraordinary commission was nominated to go into the provinces and summon the people to arms ; all the horses and mules were put in requisition ; and, as a

temporary expedient for defraying the first expenses, a loan was to be raised on the plate of the churches and convents.

Meanwhile the telegraph announced the bombardment of Messina. Having been repulsed with considerable loss in a first attempt to land at *Mare Grosso*, the Neapolitans kept up a steady fire for four days, not on the forts occupied by the Messinese, but on the town itself; and bombs and rockets were discharged upon it from the citadel, the only point which had remained in the power of the King of Naples. Messina is open towards the sea; the citizens fought with great bravery, but they were ill-armed and ill-commanded, and the regular garrison was weak; so that, as the Neapolitan army was four times more numerous, it might have taken the city at the point of the bayonet without any very extraordinary effort. The four days' bombardment, therefore, was an act of wilful, brutal cruelty, opposed to all the laws of civilized warfare. When the Neapolitans landed on the beach of La Contessa, the suburb of that name, all the houses along the road from the sea to the gates of Messina, and a large portion of the beautiful city itself, had ceased to exist. A few Messinese sold their lives dearly behind the smoking ruins of their homes; 5000 families had fled to the mountains, and thousands of women, children, and wounded, sought protection in the three French and English yessels in the roads. It is not surprising that after such inhuman and disloyal treatment, the Messinese should have cruelly retaliated upon the prisoners who fell into their hands: it is not true, however, that they roasted and ate them, as the Neapolitan journals alleged. At any rate, the conquerors were not backward in making reprisals upon the defenceless inhabitants of the sacked city.

A victory so dearly won was enough to make General Filangieri think seriously of the resistance he

was likely to encounter in the prosecution of his expedition : he, therefore, issued a proclamation offering a general amnesty, suspension of the tax on grist, and the erection of Messina into a free port. These concessions were intended as preliminaries to his march on Catania and Syracuse ; but throughout all Sicily an explosion of rage had ensued upon the news of the catastrophe that had befallen Messina. Lanzerotte, the commandant of Syracuse, being suspected of cowardice or treachery, was seized by the populace and torn to pieces ; and the same fate would infallibly have happened to any man who talked of submission. In Palermo, the Government durst not, if it would, have shown the least hesitation ; the word treachery, once uttered amongst the people, would have been a death sentence for the most popular leaders. There was no alternative but to proclaim war to the death, and to push forward with the utmost energy the preparations for a desperate resistance. The Government being short of funds, provisionally suspended the payment of the notes called bank policies, a measure which painfully affected a great number of the humbler classes, and which would, on any other occasion, have produced the worst effects. Vito d'Ondes Reggio, the Minister of the Interior, left Palermo to arrange a line of defence in the eastern part of the island ; and 20,000 pikes were prepared to supply the want of muskets. The peasants flocked from all parts of the country to Palermo ; and from the mountains of Alcamo and Corleone came 8000 swarthy-visaged descendants of the Moors, in their picturesque garbs, each man with a carbine slung over his stout shoulder.

But beneath this bold and martial bearing lurked many serious anxieties. The Government, even whilst it declared that the Sicilian nation would perish to the last man rather than submit or enter into any compromise with Naples, clearly foresaw that the ruin of

all the ports in the island was inevitable, and that the only hope of resisting oppression lay in abandoning the whole seaboard, and retiring into the mountains. The people loudly vented their indignation against the inertness of their two allies, and the whole press echoed the popular cry ; but a favorable change was produced in the public mind by the arrival of the French packet *Hellespont*, and the English corvette *Sidon*, the former freighted with 2000 muskets and 400 barrels of powder, consigned to the Sicilian Government, and the latter bringing news of an agreement for an armistice provisionally concluded on the 11th of September, between Captain Nonay of the French ship *Hercule* and Captain Robb of her Majesty's ship *Gladiator*, on the one part, and General Filangieri on the other.

Protected by the English and French fleets, the armistice was respected by both belligerents, and the island enjoyed perfect tranquillity during the remainder of the year. Meanwhile the Sicilians were prevailed on by their friends to abate something of their pretensions, and consent to treat with Naples for a settlement of their quarrel on the basis of the Constitution of 1812. The rights of his crown being no longer contested, King Ferdinand accepted, but with undisguised repugnance, the mediation of France and England. The negotiations proceeded very slowly, and just before the close of the year they took a sudden and inauspicious turn. The King, who had apparently acquiesced in most of the propositions submitted to him by the representatives of the mediating powers, took his stand very decidedly against the proposed establishment of a Sicilian army, and insisted on preserving the existing amalgamation of the Neapolitan and Sicilian forces. At the same time he transferred the conduct of the negotiations from his foreign minister to his military commander ; announced that Spain, whose reigning family has a reversionary interest in the

Neapolitan succession, demanded to take part in the intervention ; and that he had also invited the co-operation of Russia and Austria as parties to the treaties of 1815.

The whole question was thus reopened, and the prospect of an amicable settlement became more doubtful than ever.

The changes of ministry in Sardinia and Tuscany were effected by violence and insurrection, but cost no bloodshed. In Rome the new policy was initiated by the murder of the premier, Count Rossi. The deed appears to have been unpremeditated ; though prompted by political feeling, it was not the act of a party, but of an individual. Unfortunately for the honor of the Romans, there were too many among them who made themselves accessories after the fact, by their ostentatious applause of the murderer. Groups of mingled soldiers and citizens, with lighted torches, were heard singing in chorus along the streets :—

“ Benedetto quella mano
Che il tiranno pugnato”

[Blessed that hand which smote the tyrant] ; a translation of the Greek ditty about Harmodius and Aristogiton.

On the 15th of November, the Chamber of Deputies was to open at one o'clock, and a large crowd was consequently assembled round the gateway of the Palazzo della Cancellaria. When Rossi appeared they hissed and hooted ; the haughty count confronted them with an expression of scorn and contempt, whereupon a man rushed forward and plunged a dagger in his neck. The dying man was taken up to the rooms occupied by Cardinal Guzzoli, and in five minutes expired.

M. Rossi will be better remembered for his untimely

death than for any public achievements of his political career, though he exercised a commanding influence over many of the more conspicuous actors in the history of the last forty years. Born at Carrara, in 1787, he became an advocate and professor of laws in the University of Bologna as early as 1809. In 1815 he acted as civil commissioner during the occupation of the Legations by Murat, and was in consequence proscribed. He escaped to Geneva, where the rights of a citizen were conferred on him in time to rescue him from the persecution of the Austrian Government. He occupied for nearly twenty years the chair of Roman Law in the Academy of Geneva, until he was ejected from his professorship, along with his six colleagues, by the present government of that republic. At the invitation of M. Guizot, he removed to Paris, where a chair of Constitutional Law was at once placed at his disposal; and upon his naturalization in France he rose to fill several important offices, and was eventually called to the Chamber of Peers. Although he never held a ministerial office in France, he lived in the closest intimacy with the Government, and enjoyed the unreserved confidence of the King. This circumstance caused him to be selected for the important post of French ambassador at Rome; and after an absence of thirty years he returned to his native country as the plenipotentiary of a foreign sovereign. In that capacity he probably contributed in a remarkable degree to place Pio Nono on the papal throne.

From this biographical sketch, borrowed with some compression from a very laudatory article in "The Times," it may easily be inferred that Rossi was not the man whose ministry could inspire the Roman people with any degree of confidence. The confidential friend and counsellor of Guizot and Louis Philippe could not be a hearty friend of popular power; he was a bureaucrat of their school, and his ability and auda-

city only rendered him the more offensive to the nation, as an incarnation of the reactionary spirit, and the more dangerous to the sovereign who employed him. The unfortunate man was greedy of unpopularity, and his demeanor was insufferably haughty; for example,—Prince Barberini having been named member of a commission created by Rossi, conceived himself obliged to go and thank him for it. He was no sooner announced from the antechamber than the minister said, "Give me the Gazette," and began to read it. After some time the servant returned to inform him that Prince Barberini wished to speak with him. "I am now reading the Gazette," replied he; "when I have finished the prince may enter." The prince was kept in the antechamber accordingly, and an hour passed before he obtained an audience.

The death of Rossi was the signal for an insurrection for which Rome was already predisposed.

At half-past ten A.M. on the 16th, a gathering began in the great Piazza del Popolo, and symptoms of a menacing character were perceptible in the leading streets. The Civic Guards and troops of the line, in fragmentary sections, mingled with the people; and the Carabineers, whose uniform had hitherto been invariably arrayed against the populace, were now for the first time seen to fraternize with the mob. From the terrace of the Pincian Hill the spectator could count nearly 20,000 Romans, in threatening groups, and mostly armed. Printed papers were handed eagerly about, all having the same purport, and containing the following "Fundamental Points: 1. Promulgation and full adoption of Italian nationality. 2. Convocation of a Constituent Assembly and realization of the Federal Pact. 3. Realization of the vote for the war of independence given in the Chamber of Deputies. 4. Adoption, in its integrity, of the Programme Mamiani, 5th June. 5. Ministers who have public confidence—Mamiani, Ster-

bini, Cambello, Saliceti, Fusconi, Lunati, Sereni, Galletti."

Their ostensible object was to proceed to the Chamber of Deputies and present these five points in a constitutional manner. But the chiefs, finding themselves in such unlooked-for force of numbers, and many of the Deputies being found mixed up with the crowd, the cry was raised to march to the Pope's palace. It was now one o'clock. The members of the Chamber presented themselves as the mouthpiece of the multitude, and transmitted the five points to the Sovereign. In about ten minutes, the President of the late Ministerial Council, Cardinal Soglia, came forth from the private apartment, and informed the deputation that his Holiness would reflect on the subject and take it into his best consideration. This message was deemed unsatisfactory, and a personal audience was insisted on for the deputation. An audience was granted; Galletti, the former Police Minister (and strange to say for such a functionary, the most popular man in Rome) appeared on the balcony, and stated, that the Pope "would not brook dictation." Matters grew critical. The Swiss Guard was resolute, but it numbered no more than some two dozen men: escape or defence was equally difficult. Suddenly, one of the advanced sentinels was seized by the mob, and disarmed. The Guard instantly flung back, closed, and barred the palace-gates, and presented their arms at the mass of the besiegers. The die was now cast. From the back streets men emerged, bearing aloft long ladders wherewith to scale the pontifical abode; carts and wagons were dragged up and ranged within musket-shot of the windows, to protect the assailants in their determined attack on the palace; the cry was, "To arms! To arms!" and musketry began to bristle in the approaches from every direction. Fagots were produced and piled up against one of the condemned gates of the building, to which

the mob was in the act of setting fire, when a brisk discharge of firelocks scattered the besiegers in that quarter.

The drums were now beating throughout the city, and groups of regular troops and carabinieri reinforced the assailants. Random shots were aimed at the windows and responded to. The outposts, one after another, were taken by the people, the garrison within being too scanty to man the outworks. The belfry of St. Carlino, which commands the palace, was occupied. From behind the equestrian statues of Castor and Pollux a group of sharpshooters plied their rifles; and at about four o'clock, Monsignor Palma, private secretary to his Holiness, was killed by a bullet. Two six-pounders were drawn up and pointed at the gates; but a truce was demanded, and a deputation again entered the palace bearing "the people's ultimatum," which was a simple repetition of the "fundamental points" cited above. If those terms were not granted, the palace was to be stormed, and every soul in it put to the sword, "with the sole exception of his Holiness himself." Pius no longer hesitated, but sent for Galletti, with whom he remained in conference from six till nearly seven, when the following new Ministry was formally proclaimed to the people:—Foreign Affairs, Mamiani; Home and Police, Galletti; Finance, Lunati; Commerce and Public Works, Sterbini; War Minister, Cambello; Public Instruction and President of the Council, Rosmini. The last name is the only one which the Pope had selected himself: the others were all named by the people. Sterbini is the leading writer in the "Contemporaneo." The Abbé Count Rosmini declined the task proposed to him by the Pope's selection, and was replaced by Monsignor Carlo Muzarelli, a popular and enlightened *prelato*.

On receiving intelligence of these events, the English Admiral sent a steamer to Civita Vecchia to receive

the Pope, should he be a fugitive ; and the French Government hastily despatched three steam frigates, with a force of 3500 men, to protect the Pontiff. He does not appear, however, to have been exposed to any personal danger ; but being resolved not to give even the implied sanction of his presence to the ministry imposed upon him by the populace, he committed the fatal imprudence of quitting his dominions as a fugitive. His flight was the signal for the dispersion of his cardinals. The veteran, Lambruschini, escaped in the uniform of a dragoon ; whilst Pius evaded in the less appropriate guise of a servant to the Bavarian ambassador, and, crossing the frontier, arrived at Gaeta, where the King of Naples received him with worshipful homage.

Deputations were sent by the Roman ministry to solicit the Pope's return ; but they were not even allowed to cross the Neapolitan frontier. As the Pontiff persisted in declaring the ministry to be illegal, and all its acts null and void, an act was passed by both Chambers, provisionally depriving the Pope of temporal power, and decreeing the election of a "Provisional Supreme Junta," for the purpose of carrying on the government. The act states, that "The Commission shall discontinue its functions on the return of the Sovereign Pontiff, or when he shall himself appoint, according to constitutional forms, a substitute of his own selection." Neither of these conditions being fulfilled, an act was passed, at the instance of the Junta, and in compliance with the demands of the people, convoking a Constituent Assembly for the Roman States. The Chambers were then dissolved on the 29th of December.

At sunset that evening, the Castle of St. Angelo, by the consecutive discharge of 101 great guns, announced to this metropolis and the world in general, that the dynasty which had reigned over Rome for 1048 years

had come to a close, and a new government was to be called into being by the mandate of the whole population assembled in a constituent representative body by universal suffrage. The great bell of the Capitol, which only tolls for the death of a Pope, pealed solemnly. It was exactly on the 24th November (the fatal night of the flight of Pio Nono), that, in the year of our Lord 800, Charlemagne arrived in Rome to be crowned on Christmas day of that year by Leo III., and to institute and formally corroborate the donation of Pepin by the erection of the Papal sovereignty.

CHAPTER VIII.

GERMANY.

ALL THE STATES REVOLUTIONIZED—THE CENTRAL PARLIAMENT OF GERMANY CREATED—INSTALLATION OF THE REGENCY.

THE shock of the February revolution threw all Germany into commotion, and although it awoke there but little imitative sympathy with France, it yet gave an irresistible impulse to the long-slighted claims of the German people. The time was now come when the promises made by the German sovereigns, in the season of their distress, could no longer be evaded. The German people asked for no more. The chief points they insisted on were,—A new civil and criminal code for all Germany, ratifying, among other things, freedom of the press ; trial by jury, and publicity in all judicial proceedings ; representative government in the several States, with the right of voting taxes vested in the people alone ; civic equality without distinction of creed ; and lastly, that the people, as well as the princes, should be represented in the Council of the German Confederation. These demands were the very same which had been constantly preferred by the Liberal party for three-and-thirty years, and rejected and punished by the princes, with more or less despotic harshness : they were now extorted, with more or less violence, in the space of three weeks, from every sovereign in Germany. The first act of submission was made by the King of

Wurtemberg, on the 3d of March, and the example was followed by his brother sovereigns in rapid succession ; those of Bavaria and Hesse Darmstadt abdicated, after they had complied with the demands of their subjects. On the 13th the old system perished in its metropolis, Vienna, after a street tumult (for it was not a fight) of three or four hours ; and on the 18th the new order of things was established in Berlin, and consecrated by a lavish and gratuitous outpouring of blood.

The King of Saxony insisted on retaining the censorship of the press, and would not hear of any "insensate projects" for the security of his subjects' rights. His subjects, however, persisted in their demands ; the King was "moved to tears," but not to compliance ; on the contrary, he called out his troops, but they refused to act against the people, and the King was constrained to grant everything.

King Ernest of Hanover, of course, began by refusing all concessions. When further pressed, he talked of abdicating ; but finding his beloved Hanoverians quite unmoved by that threat, he resigned himself to his fate, and even submitted to the mortification of receiving Stübe as one of his ministers—a man who had spent many years in prison for his resistance to King Ernest's illegal and tyrannical acts.

A dramatic scene, recorded in a letter from Oldenburg, is curious and significant. A deputation, headed by Baron von Thanne, one of the wealthiest landed proprietors in the duchy, waited on the Grand Duke on the 10th of March, with a petition for a representative government, and other constitutional grants. The Baron made a speech, in which he expounded the object of the petition in very forcible terms. The Duke, unaccustomed to such language, interrupted the speaker, saying, "Sir, do you mean to threaten me?" "Such is not my intention, prince!" replied

Von Thanne; "we merely express wishes, but they are the unanimous wishes of the people." "You demand a constitution," observed the Duke: "that is a very difficult matter, requiring much time and long meditation; and, moreover, at a moment like this, we should not be in too great a hurry." "Allow me," said Von Thanne, "to remind your highness, that *you made me precisely the same reply seventeen years ago*, in 1830, when I had the honor to claim in the name of the people a similar concession!"

The King of Bavaria's abdication ought, for the honor of royalty, to have taken place sooner. On the 19th of February very serious riots, threatening to end in the King's deposition, were caused in Munich by one of the insolent freaks of Louis's mistress, Lola Montez, whom he had created Countess of Lansfeldt. Lola was obliged to quit the city. Having returned to it on the 9th of March, she was again removed by the police, and the King was compelled to annul the letters of naturalization he had conferred on her, and with them her right to the estate from which she derived her title. But the sacrifice was too painful to the infatuated old monarch: and his abdication followed within a week after the decree extorted from him against his fascinating mistress.

The revolution in Vienna began on the occasion of the opening of the Diet for Lower Austria. The business of the day had not proceeded more than half an hour, when it was interrupted by a mass of people, who forced their way into the hall, clamoring for reform. Count Montecuculi, marshal of the Diet, immediately went to the palace, followed by a crowd of people, to present a petition to the Emperor, praying the same reforms as had been granted in other parts of Germany. The Archduke Ludwig, chief of the Home Department, informed the Count that there was no disposition to make concessions. A cabinet

council, however, was summoned, and the Marshal of the Diet and those who accompanied him waited in vain for its determination, from twelve to four o'clock. The people became exasperated by this delay ; the students harangued them, the tumult continually increased. Suddenly the troops appeared and fired upon the unarmed multitude, killing and wounding a great number. Four pieces of cannon were planted on St. Stephen's Platz, and the gunners stood by them with lighted matches. Meanwhile the alarum-drum was beaten ; the Burgher Guard appeared in arms, and were received by the populace with loud acclamations ; but all further conflict was prevented by the announcement that Prince Metternich had resigned, that the Emperor had acceded to the popular demands, and had confided the city to the keeping of the students and the burghers. A new ministry was formed under the Presidency of Count Kolowrath, and various measures of grace were announced in rapid succession. An amnesty was declared in favor of all political prisoners in Galicia and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. One hundred and fifty Polish and Italian prisoners were dismissed from the fortress of Spielberg, infamous in the annals of Austrian despotism. The Secret Court of Police was abolished, and a letter was published from the minister, Baron Pillersdorf, to the police officers of all the Austrian provinces, in which he tells them that a great many of their former functions are now illegal. They are forbidden to employ spies, "since the free press will not fail to reveal dangerous conspiracies and plots, if any exist." Liberty of the person and a kind of *habeas corpus* are officially proclaimed in this letter.

The constitution proclaimed on the 25th of April completed the first stage of the Austrian Revolution. According to this scheme, afterwards abrogated by another revolutionary movement, the Imperial Parlia-

ment was to consist of two houses. The Upper House was to comprise about two hundred members, one-fifth of whom were to be nominated by the Emperor. The heads of princely houses were to have seats in this assembly; and the rest of its members were to be elected by landed proprietors paying 1000 florins and upwards of annual taxes. The Lower House was to be constituted on the broadest democratic basis. Every man was to have a vote and be eligible as a representative. The number of members was to be about four hundred.

The first steps of Prussia in the way of reform were made unnecessarily painful, through the vacillation of her grandiloquent and weak-souled monarch. On the 6th of March he closed the sittings of the modern-antique Diet he had called into existence the year before, and he promised that it should thenceforth meet periodically; as if such an institution was sufficient for the political wants of the Prussian people! Meanwhile the citizens of every town in the Rhenish provinces had broken out with cries for the largest reforms. Their demands were echoed by Breslau, Königsburg, and Berlin. A great open-air meeting, held on the 13th of March in the capital, to petition for reform, ended in a tumult, in which the troops acted with great violence. For nearly a week Berlin was a continued scene of dire disorder. On the 15th, though the people offered little more than passive resistance, ten persons were killed and upwards of a hundred were wounded by the military. While such was the state of the capital, sanguinary riots were taking place also in Breslau and Königsburg. On the morning of the 18th, a deputation arrived in Berlin from Cologne, and at once waited on the King and presented a petition for reform. Frederick William having promised to accede to their demands, they replied, "We have been so often deceived and put off, that we cannot wait any longer; we must insist on

a proclamation being issued at once, or your majesty will cease to reign over the Rhenish provinces." The King was much hurt, but after some parley submitted. Threatened, on the one hand, with the loss of a part of his dominions; on the other hand flattered by the prospect of an Imperial crown suddenly dawning upon him, he forthwith published a proclamation of which we subjoin the most important portion:—

"We, Frederick William, by the grace of God, &c. When, on the 14th instant, we convoked our faithful States for the 27th of April next, to determine with them on the measures for the regeneration of Germany, which we wished to propose to our allies of the Germanic Confederation, and which are so necessary for Prussia, we could not suppose what great events were at the same moment occurring in Vienna, to facilitate essentially, on the one hand, the execution of our projects, and, on the other, to render a hastening of their execution indispensable. Now, in consequence of these important events, we feel bound to declare before all things, not only in presence of Prussia, but in presence of Germany (if such be the will of God), and before the whole united nation, what propositions we have resolved to make to our German confederates. Above all, we demand that Germany be transformed from a Confederation of States into a Federal State. We acknowledge that this plan presupposes a re-organization of the federal constitution, which cannot be carried into execution except by a union of princes with the people, and that consequently a temporary federal representation must be formed out of the Chambers of all the German States and convoked immediately. We admit that such a federal representation imperatively demands constitutional institutions in all German States, in order that the members of that representation may sit beside each other on terms of equality. We demand a general military system of defence for Germany, and we will

endeavor to form it after that model under which our Prussian armies reaped such unfading laurels in the liberation war. We demand that the German federal army be assembled under one single federal banner, and we hope to see a federal commander-in-chief at its head. We demand a German federal flag; and we expect that, at a period not far remote, a German fleet will cause the German name to be respected both on neighboring and far-distant seas. We demand a German federal tribunal for the settlement of all political differences between princes and their States, as well as those arising between the different German Governments. We demand a common law of settlement for all Germany, and an entire right for all Germans to change their abode in every part of our German fatherland.

“We demand that, in future, no barriers of custom-houses shall impede traffic upon German soil, and cripple the industry of its inhabitants. We demand, therefore, a general German union of customs (Zollverein), in which the same weights and measures, the same coinage, and the same German laws of commerce, will soon draw closer and closer the bond of material union. We propose the liberty of the press throughout Germany, with the same general guarantees against its abuse.”

The last paragraph fixes the convocation of the United Diet for the 2d of April.

The first thought that will occur to most men on reading this document will be,—Why was it delayed so long? Is it possible that an hour can have possessed the mind of the royal writer with projects so vast as are here suggested, and with convictions so strong as seem implied in every line of the proclamation? Be that as it may, the delight with which the people of Berlin received their King's manifesto was unbounded; an immense crowd, comprising persons

of all classes, repaired to the palace to express their gratitude. At two o'clock his majesty appeared at a window, and was received with tremendous cheers. Unfortunately, two regiments of dragoons, stationed in the inner court of the palace, on hearing the shouts, supposed that the populace were making an attack; defiling, therefore, at a slow pace through the gateway, they formed in line, and began to force the people back by bearing on the mass with the chests of their horses. At this moment two shots were fired from a body of infantry; the discharge was accidental, and no one was wounded, but the consequences were not the less disastrous. The people, imagining that a most treacherous design had been formed to massacre them, immediately rushed to arms. Barricades were thrown up in every street, and riflemen took post at windows and on house-tops, whence they fired upon the soldiery. The latter were by no means reluctant to engage in the fray; on the contrary, they were animated by the scorn and hatred which the garrison of Berlin has always professed for the *bourgeoisie*, and they were further incensed by what they considered the unfair fighting of their opponents. - They looked on the fighters from the windows and house-tops as assassins, and gave them no quarter; several corner-houses from which the firing was particularly sharp, were taken, and every one within was put to death. Twelve were thus killed in a house in the Fredericks strasse, among them a young Pole, who frantically begged the lieutenant to spare his life; but it was impossible to control the rage of the soldiers: in another house, a *café*, eight men were bayoneted in the billiard-room. The people, on the other hand, fought with no less valor and determination, and for nearly fifteen hours the fight raged with undiminished fury. The firing, which began soon after two p. m. on the 18th, ceased at five in the morning of the 19th,

the King voluntarily desisting from the contest without having been actually defeated. He felt, no doubt, that even a victory won after a further continuance of so horrid a strife, might be fatal to his tenure of the crown.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 19th, there was published an address to the inhabitants of Berlin by the King, assuring them that the conflict between the people and the soldiery was purely the result of an unfortunate misunderstanding, and entreating mutual forgiveness and oblivion of the past on both sides. The good-natured Berliners responded with alacrity to this appeal, and again they thronged to the palace to ratify the compact proposed to them by their King. At eleven o'clock Frederick William appeared on a balcony, and was received with a cordiality that was certainly surprising under such circumstances; he afterwards went down into the square, declared his consent to the arming of the people, confided himself to their safeguard, and as a procession passed him bearing the bodies of some of the dead and wounded, he uncovered his head, and uttered words of the deepest regret and respect for the fallen. A general amnesty was announced; the military were sent out of the town; orders were given for the immediate formation of a Burgher Guard, in which the students of the university were to be incorporated; and a new ministry of a very liberal character was appointed, including Dr. Börnemann and Dr. Camphausen, representatives of the middle class, whose talents and eloquence had been conspicuous in the Diet of the preceding year.

To the honor of the Berliners it deserves to be recorded, that from the moment the fight had ceased they exhibited no spirit of revenge; they even praised the bravery of the troops, and cheered them as they left the town with flying colors and the music of their

military bands. Even in the heat of the conflict but few acts of wilful injury to private property were committed. The Royal Foundry and the Artillery barracks were reduced to ashes; the furniture of Major Preiss, who was believed to have given orders to fire on the unoffending people, was burned, and the house of the Director of Taxes, and the shop of a glover who had given up some Polish students to the soldiers, were both pillaged. No other acts of violence of this kind were committed, and the words, "Respect for the property of the citizens," were everywhere written by the insurgents themselves on the doors of the houses and shops. The popular feeling was very strong against the Prince of Prussia, and his palace would inevitably have been demolished, had it not been protected by the talismanic inscription, "National Property." The Prince was believed,—we know not on what evidence,—to have counselled the King against making any concessions to the wishes of the nation, and to have made use of very virulent expressions against the people whilst the conflict was pending. To allay the irritation caused by the Prince's presence, it was resolved that he should quit Prussia with all speed, under pretext of a secret mission to the Queen of England.*

The number of those who fell in the deplorable conflict

* As in Paris, so also in Berlin, comic incidents were not wanting to vary the horrors of a day and night of slaughter. An English writer says: "In one of the barricades carried and cleared away by the troops, the kernel of the mass of beams, casks, furniture, and paling flung hastily together, was found to be a cab with the unfortunate 'fare' still in it. It had been stopped and covered up before he could get out. As soon as it was dragged forth, he put his head to the window and politely begged the door might be opened, as calmly as if he had just driven up in the ordinary course of things. He will, doubtless, figure in Berlin history as an Englishman, for we have a universal reputation for taking things coolly."

of the 18th of March was very considerable, but much less than at first it was made to appear by various circumstantial reports, put forth with great pretensions to accuracy. On the popular side the slain may have been about 200, of whom 187 received a public funeral; as to the wounded, we have not been able to discover any authentic account of their numbers. By an official list of the loss sustained by the military, it appears that those slain on the 18th, or who afterwards died of their wounds received that day, were 3 commissioned and 17 non-commissioned officers and privates; the list of wounded includes 14 commissioned officers, 14 non-commissioned, 225 rank and file, and 1 surgeon. It has been pretended that the losses of the military were studiously concealed, and that great numbers of their dead were conveyed by night to the fortress of Spandau, and there secretly buried; but a story so glaringly improbable cannot be admitted in face of the document of which we have given the above abstract. The official list gives the name, birth-place, regiment, and battalion of every killed and wounded officer and soldier, so that any suppression of the truth would be liable to immediate detection. There is no doubt, therefore, that the above is an exact statement of the loss up to the 12th of April.

Frederick William's position after the 18th and 19th of March was that of a sovereign who had virtually lost a battle against his own subjects, and who was forced to behold the people more masters of his capital than he was himself. Not all the floods of his sentimental and vainglorious rhetoric could conceal that glaring fact. One means, however, presented itself to him by which he might retrieve his lost dignity in the eyes of Europe, and he seized it with a dexterity which would have been admirable but for the fault, common to almost all his majesty's boldest acts, of coming just after the opportunity had gone by. On the 21st he

issued a proclamation, reiterating in still more forcible and explicit terms his declaration that he would head the grand movement for the regeneration of Germany ; and thus, instead of allowing the minds of his subjects to dwell on old grievances, he turned, for a while, the whole torrent of popular excitement to new hopes, and questions of larger import, in which it appeared to the Prussians that they and their sovereign must act together.

On the same day the King rode in state through the streets of Berlin. The black and white cockade of Prussia had been stained with blood ; but forthwith his Majesty reappeared with the Imperial colors on his helmet ; that same ancient German tricolor proscribed at the universities, and which waved over the people's barricades at Berlin, was now the hopeful emblem of the Imperial power of united Germany. Immense was the enthusiasm with which the King was everywhere greeted by the dense masses, through which his horse could hardly move. "Long live the Emperor of Germany !" cried a voice. "Not so," replied Frederick William ; "that is not my wish—that is not my intention ;" a denial which, we must suppose, meant no more than *nolo episcopari*. The King of Prussia, seizing the leadership of Germany as soon as Austria seemed disabled from contending with him for its possession, was not likely to build up a German empire in order to give himself a master. But his intentions, whatever they were, came to naught ; for already the people of Germany had themselves taken in hand the work which Frederick William arrogated to himself. The Duke of Brunswick seems to have been the only prince who publicly declared his adhesion to the King of Prussia's leadership. The people of every state except Prussia looked coldly on the claims of the candidate for empire, or rejected them absolutely, and, in some instances, with scorn. The *Wiener Zeitung* of March 25th, pub-

lished an "answer of the German nation to the King of Prussia," in which it reproaches the King for appealing to the Prussian people, and the German nation, "amidst the thunder of artillery, and the death-groans of murdered citizens;" it taunts the King with his former want of good faith, and protests that, as (contrary to Frederick William's solemn assertion) Germany is not threatened with any danger whatever, the King had no business to anticipate the decision of the German Parliament, by assuming the lead of Germany. The King is told that Germany will bear with him as long as Prussia does so, but no longer, and that his majesty's claims to the confidence of the German nation are inadmissible.

In the first flush of his enthusiasm, and before his pretensions to leadership were thus cruelly snubbed, Frederick William ordered 20,000 of his troops to march against Denmark, in order to wrest the province of Schleswig from its rightful sovereign, and annex it to the German Confederation.

A sudden enthusiasm in favor of Poland broke out in Germany in the first days of revolutionary fervor. On the 20th of March the doors of the state prison of Berlin were thrown open, and the condemned Poles came forth. An immense crowd accompanied them and filled the air with shouts of joy. The horses were taken from the carriage in which Mieroslawski and his companions were seated, and the people drew the liberated captives to the palace and thence to the university. White handkerchiefs were waved by the ladies from every window. Mieroslawski stood up in the carriage, holding in his hand the black, red, and golden banner, and acknowledged the enthusiastic applause of the people, who accompanied the carriage in countless masses, by waving his flag. As the procession entered the Schlossplatz, his majesty appeared upon the balcony. On the following day a Polish deputation from Posen

arrived in Berlin, and all its demands were conceded. The duchy was to be divided into two moieties, the one Polish, the other German, and each was to have its own local administration. This arrangement was cordially approved of by the rest of Germany; the exiles from Austrian and Prussian Poland were invited to return, and were everywhere greeted with cordial sympathy in their passage through the German states.

The affairs of Posen in 1848 form one of the most melancholy episodes in that year of revolutions. Eight days after Mieroslawski's triumphal procession through the streets of Berlin, civil war broke out in Posen between the German and the Polish races, and for six weeks it was carried on with the most savage cruelty on both sides. The very same Poles who had fraternized with the German party in Berlin, now butchered, mutilated, disembowelled, or burned all the Germans who fell into their hands. Their antagonists retaliated these barbarities in equal measure; but as the horrid details of the contest are known to us almost entirely through German statements, we forbear to express any opinion as to which party was the aggressor in the strife, or the more culpable in its prosecution. This, however, we may say, that whatever may have been the provocation they received, the conduct of the Polish party was such as to disgust their best friends, and to give their enemies additional grounds for affirming their total unfitness for the enjoyment of independence. At last the terms of the partition were arranged, the line of demarcation between German and Polish Posen was determined on the 26th of April, and on the 10th of the following month the insurrection was terminated by the capture of Mieroslawski and the defeat of his band, the last outstanding remains of a Polish army of 30,000 men.

The beginning of the year 1848 found the two lead-

ing powers of Germany busily concerting measures with Russia and France for the forcible extinction of the free spirit that was displaying its strength in some of the minor states of the Continent. Switzerland had brought her civil war to a happy termination, with a rapidity that disconcerted the calculations of the confederate despots; nevertheless they hoped, by diplomatic means, to retrieve their lost opportunity, and under the pretext of amicable intervention to undo the settlement of the Helvetic Republic, or at least to create an excuse for coercing it by force of arms. Italy was also making demonstrations that called for immediate repression, and the more so, because her princes were either passively submitting to the popular impulse, or were actually leading the movement for reform and national independence. To meet the emergency the Holy Alliance was revived, and a compact was entered into between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, by which it was stipulated that the latter should direct her forces against the contumacious Swiss and Italians, while her own discontented provinces should be kept in check by the armies of her two allies. But the French Revolution annihilated these plans, and the contracting parties were compelled to look each to their own safety, and reserve their armies for home service. On the first of March the canton of Neuchâtel threw off the Prussian yoke, and was admitted a member of the Swiss Confederation. Prussia submitted to the loss in silence.

At the instance of Prussia and Austria, the German sovereigns now agreed to hold a congress at Dresden on the 25th of March, to concert measures against the danger with which they thought themselves threatened from beyond the Rhine. But when the appointed day arrived every German state was in the first heyday of Revolution, and the sovereigns were all kept fast within their respective capitals by the fear that, if they departed from them, they might possibly

not find it an easy matter to gain readmission. Instead, therefore, of a congress of princes, there took place an assemblage of delegates from the people of all Germany, with the intent of remodelling the federal organization. The Diet sitting at Frankfort had already manifested its desire to promote that great work, to which end it had invited its seventeen constituents to send to it as many "men of public confidence," to assist in its deliberations.

On the 31st of March, five hundred deputies from all parts of Germany held their first sitting in Frankfort, as a preliminary assembly for the formation of a national Parliament. Almost the first question they had to decide was, as to what territories should send representatives to the Central Assembly; and it was resolved unanimously, that Schleswig-Holstein should be invited to exercise that privilege, as forming part of the German Confederation. The same was declared with regard to the provinces of East and West Prussia. Some difference of opinion existed with regard to Posen, but at last it was agreed that since the retention of that province might impede the re-establishment of the independent kingdom of Poland, which all Germany wished most ardently to see liberated from the barbarous yoke of Russia, the Assembly would content itself with declaring that it would endeavor to find means for protecting the 700,000 Germans living in that province. The preliminary assembly (*vorparlament*) further resolved, in concert with the Diet, that a National Assembly should immediately be elected by universal suffrage, in the proportion of one member for every 50,000 of the population, and that any German should be eligible thereto for any part of Germany.

Having made these arrangements, the preliminary assembly adjourned, but left behind it a permanent committee of fifty. This committee, with the seventeen

“men of confidence,” whose voices were paramount in the Diet, constituted from the beginning of April to the middle of May the supreme council that governed Germany. Besides drawing up a project of a constitution for the collective German states, another important part of its labor^s consisted in directing military operations against the armed Republican party. The lake district of Baden was the only part of Germany where that party was not decidedly in the minority, and there only the Republican flag was raised. It was hoisted in Constan^z and Freiburg, under the protection of a free corps led by Hecker and Struve; but its defenders were met within a week (April 20), and totally routed by the forces of the Confederation. General von Gagern, the commander of the latter, was treacherously murdered in a parley before the battle began. Hecker escaped; Struve was taken prisoner, but soon after rescued. Freiburg was stormed on the 24th, Constan^z was occupied on the same day, and the Republic was brought to an end in both places. Herwegh, the poet and communist, arrived with his free corps from France too late to prevent the catastrophe that had befallen his brethren. His own 900 men were totally routed on the 27th by a single company of Wurtemberg troops, with a loss of 23 killed and 200 taken prisoners. Herwegh, with his wife, who was armed and present in the fight, escaped to Switzerland.

The German Parliament held its first sitting in Frankfort on the 18th of May, and elected as its president Heinrich von Gagern, an able and judicious man, and almost the only continental statesman who passed through the ordeal of the last eight months of '48 with a steadily rising reputation. On the 28th of June the parliament enacted a law, creating a provisional central power for the administration of all affairs, civil and military, foreign and domestic, which affect the whole

of the German nation, that power to be confided to a Regent (*reichsverweser*), elected by the National Assembly, and himself irresponsible, but acting through responsible ministers. On the following day the Archduke John of Austria was elected Regent, by a very large majority. He arrived soon after in Frankfort, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, and was solemnly installed in office on the 12th of July; on which day also the High German Diet, born in 1815, held its seventy-first and last sitting, its power passing into the hands of the Provisional Central Government.

CHAPTER IX.

AUSTRIA.

THE EMPEROR'S FIRST FLIGHT FROM VIENNA—BOHEMIA, HUNGARY,
AND CROATIA.

FOR two months after the Revolution of March, Vienna remained in a state of precarious, yet uninterrupted, peace. But the dishonesty of the Emperor's secret advisers on the one hand, and the inflammatory harangues and writings of the demagogues on the other, kept up an angry and turbulent disposition of the public mind, which at last displayed itself in a fresh revolutionary movement on the 15th of May.

The provisional law for the elections to the National Assembly had given great dissatisfaction to the Liberal party. The aristocratic constitution of the Upper Chamber, and the indirect form of election for the Lower, were specially pointed out as objectionable. The excitement produced by these considerations was further increased by an order of the 13th of May, for the dissolution of the central committee of the National Guard, consisting of about two hundred individuals, organized for political objects, and which, backed as it was by such a large array of physical force, threatened to overawe the constituted authorities. The students of the University took the lead in resisting these unpopular measures of the Government, and on the morning of the 15th they preferred the following demands to the Ministry:—1. That the military, who, during the

preceding night, had bivouacked in large numbers on the glacis, should be withdrawn. 2. That the central committee of the National Guard should not be dissolved. 3. That the law for the elections should be declared null and void.

For a whole day the Ministers withstood these demands; but finding themselves without a sufficient force to resist the armed petitioners,—for the National Guard had joined the students,—they gave up the struggle, and at midnight Pillersdorff, the Minister of the Interior, issued a proclamation conceding all that was asked for. A new revolution was thus ratified, for the constitution of April 25 was superseded, and it was settled that the Diet should consist of but one Chamber.

On the day following this event, the Emperor and his family absconded from the capital, and fled to Inspruck in the Tyrol. The Ministers and the whole population of Vienna were thrown into consternation, and messengers were despatched with the most pressing entreaties to recall the fugitives, who obstinately rejected all such overtures. Meanwhile the agents of the camarilla, and the aristocratic party who had counselled the Emperor's flight, were taking pains to make that event subservient to their reactionary projects. They caused reports to be spread in the provincial towns that the Viennese had stormed the Imperial palace, dragging the monarch from his bed, and ill-treated his sacred person. Having produced a strong feeling of pious horror in the provinces by such stories as these, the reactionists prepared to make a *coup de main* in the capital.

On the 25th of May it was reported in Vienna, that three regiments were to enter the city at night, and the announcement spread universal alarm. On the following morning the Academical Legion received orders to disband within twenty-four hours. On their

refusal to lay down their arms, the gates of the town were shut and guarded by soldiers; but the workmen from the suburbs stormed them, and one of the assailants, a workman, was killed in the conflict. This became the signal for a general insurrection, and once more barricades arose in every street. This state of things lasted until the night without further hostilities, and ended in the complete victory of the people, whose conditions were again, as on the 15th, accepted and ratified by the Ministers. These conditions stipulated the continuance of the Academical Legion; the removal of the military to a distance of four leagues from Vienna; and the return of the Emperor within eight days, or the appointment of one of the princes to represent him.

Peace was now restored; the barricades were taken down, and business was resumed. The Viennese were still, indeed, deprived of the presence of their Emperor, who remained ill at Inspruck; but he appointed his uncle, the Archduke John, to represent him in the capital, and open the Assembly in his name. This was accordingly done on the 22d of July, in a speech breathing amity and peace towards all the States of the Empire, and all foreign countries. Even of Italy the Archduke said,—“The war in Italy is not directed against the liberties of the people of that country: its real object is to maintain the honor of the Austrian arms in presence of the Italian Powers, at the same time recognising their nationality, and to support the most important interests of the State.”

The Emperor at last relented, and returned to his capital on the 12th of August; and thus ended the second phase of the Viennese Revolution. Let us now see what had been the course of events in other parts of the Empire.

Two days before the first revolutionary movement

in Vienna, a meeting, anonymously convoked, was held in Prague, for the purpose of drawing up an address to the Government. The demands agreed on were as follows :—Equality of the two races (Tchech and German) ; every public officer to be required to speak both languages ; Union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, guaranteed by a common diet, which should meet alternately at Prague and Brun ; representative and municipal reform ; publicity of judicial proceedings ; absolute liberty of the press ; a responsible chancery sitting in Prague ; the arming of the people ; suppression of feudal rights and jurisdictions ; military service obligatory on all ; security for personal liberty ; equality of all religious denominations. A petition embodying these demands was adopted with cordial unanimity by both Tchechs and Germans, and the inveterate hostility between the two races seemed for the moment extinguished. A deputation carried the petition to Vienna ; at first the popular demands were met with evasive and dilatory compromises, but eventually, on the 8th of April, the Emperor granted the Bohemians all they desired. Bohemia was restored to the condition of a substantive state, under the viceroyalty of the heir-presumptive of the empire, the young archduke Francis Joseph.

It was not long before the Germans, lately the dominant race in Bohemia, began to perceive that, by the effect of the imperial rescript of the 8th of April, they had sunk lower than to a level with the Tchechs, since they were left without any peculiar privileges to compensate for their numerical inferiority. They formed only two-fifths of the whole population of Bohemia, the numbers being, Germans, 1,830,000 ; Tchechs, 2,558,000. Practically, indeed, the Tchechs were at once placed on a footing of more than equality with regard to their Teutonic brethren, in consequence of the rule that all persons employed by the state

should speak both languages. The obligation formerly imposed on the Tchechs to learn the German language, now turned to the disadvantage of the German himself, who had never condescended to acquire any Slavonic tongue. Hence the Germans became incapacitated for all state employments, and these were filled exclusively by Tchechs, even in districts inhabited altogether by the Teuton stock. The old rancor between the two races broke out as violently as ever, but their relative position was now changed, for the oppressed had become the oppressors. It was plain that the imperial authorities favored this inversion of the old order of things, and of this they gave a very significant proof in appointing Count Leo Thun, who, though a German by birth, was recognised as the leader of the Tchechs, to supersede Count Stadion as burgrave.

Whatever might be the views of some ultra-Tchechs and panslavists of the Muscovite school, the great bulk of the Austro-Slaves regarded union with Austria as essential to the renovation of their national fortunes. Their ultimate object was to transform the Austrian empire into a Slavonic confederation ; hence they repudiated all connexion with the Frankfort Assembly, and professed an exclusive allegiance to their own emperor. Now there was nothing the cabinet of Vienna so much dreaded at that moment as to see the independent existence of the Austrian empire merged in German unity ; great, therefore, was the secret satisfaction with which it witnessed the resistance made by Bohemia to the invading spirit of Teutonism. In spite of the orders, entreaties, and menaces of Frankfort, Bohemia remained virtually unrepresented in the German National Assembly, for instead of ninety deputies, it sent thither hardly more than a dozen, and of these not one was furnished by Prague.

The next step of the Tchech leaders was to convoke a general Slavonic congress. The idea came, perhaps,

from Croatia, from Louis Stur and Jellachich ; but it could only be realized in Prague. To this end a proclamation was circulated, inviting representatives of the race from all the Austrian provinces, and even from foreign states, to assemble at Prague on the 31st of May, and concert measures for protecting the independence and nationality of the Slavonic people connected with Austria, which were then in great and imminent peril ; for "the Germans," said the proclamation, "are assembling in the Parliament of Frankfort, which is about to take from Austria as much of its sovereignty as is requisite to constitute the Germanic unity. The Austrian empire is therefore about to be incorporated with the German empire, and it will carry along with it all the non-German provinces, Hungary excepted." In accordance with this summons three hundred deputies, in costumes of the most distant countries, assembled at the appointed time ; and, as if the more to exasperate Germany, the opening of the Slavonic Congress was accompanied by the establishment of a Provisional Government in Prague, the pretext for which had been furnished by the events of the 26th of May in Vienna. The burgrave, Leo Thun, affecting to consider the Viennese ministry as captives in the hands of insurgents, had created a council of regency in direct correspondence with the emperor. Of the thirteen members of this Government two only were Germans.

Opened on the 2d of June, the Congress was abruptly closed on the 12th ; but even in this brief interval enough transpired to show the general nature of the vast revolution which the Slavonians were seeking to effect in Central Europe. The Congress published a manifesto to the nations of Christendom, declaring that they were about to form a central federation in Austria ; that they utterly repudiated all thought of Russian panslavism ; that being bent on obtaining full

justice for all Slaves, they would insist on reparation from Russia for the partition of Poland; and from Prussia, Saxony, Hungary, Austria, and Turkey, for their many aggressions upon the nationality of their Slave subjects; and that they solicited a European congress in order to the equitable adjustment of these claims. The first and most essential step to the accomplishment of these objects was to establish between the Slavonic nations themselves that concord and reciprocity, for want of which they had severally fallen under the yoke of the foreigner. The cordial unanimity that prevailed in the Prague Congress was most remarkable. Each branch of the great family freely surrendered some of its own predilections for the common good. The Illyrians, regardless of Russian patronage, joined in the protest against the partition of Poland. The Poles, abandoning their sympathies with the Hungarians, took part with the Slovacks and Croats; and they also resolved themselves to do for the Ruthenians what they demanded of the Magyars for the Slovacks and Croats. A large part of the countries formerly subject to Poland are inhabited by a Slavonic race, of a different origin and dialect from the Poles. Gallicia, Southern Russia, and parts of Bessarabia and Transylvania, are peopled by Malo-Russians or Ruthenians, a race whom the Poles have always treated as of less noble blood than themselves. Hence it was that the agents of Austria so easily succeeded in setting on the peasants of Gallicia to murder the Polish nobles in 1846. Conscious of the fatal errors and omissions of former revolutions, the Polish nobles in the Prague congress resolved to abolish all remains of feudal servitude, and to recognise the independence and equality of the two races and tongues in Gallicia.

The Congress too plainly manifested that its care for the preservation of the Austrian monarchy was but a means to the attainment of a very different object, and

it was animated by a democratic spirit that disappointed and alarmed the Inspruck camarilla. The Viennese ministry could not pardon the slight put upon it by the Provisional Government of Bohemia, and it declared that body to be illegal and its acts null and void. This challenge was answered, as probably it was intended that it should be, by an insurrection which raged for five days, ending on the 17th of June; nor was it put down until Prince Windischgrätz, the Austrian commander, had bombarded the town from the adjacent heights, and laid much of it in ruins. Prague relapsed into its former state of dependence on Vienna; the Slavonic Congress was dispersed, and even the Bohemian Parliament, which was to have opened on the 18th of June, was indefinitely postponed; but the triumph of Teutonism over Slavism was far from having been consummated.

The atrocious cruelties committed by the Insurgent Tchechs bore a strong family likeness to the horrors of which the Taborites were guilty, during the Hussite wars. They cut off the noses and ears of the soldiers whom they took alive, and murdered them after having thus tormented them. Twenty-six Hussars were thrown into the Moldau on the 13th, and a National Guard, who had shot two Tchechs in the performance of his duty, was crucified on the door of his own house.

Almost the first shot fired in the insurrection killed the Princess Windischgrätz in her own apartment. The Prince's behavior on this sad occasion stands in honorable contrast with his later deeds. Owing to the Prince's refusal to give cannon and ammunition to the students, a mob gathered round his house on the 12th, hooting, yelling, and threatening. The military on duty having in vain called on them to disperse, and the fatal shot having been fired that deprived the unfortunate Princess of life, the bereaved husband came

out, and with great dignity and calmness thus addressed the rioters :—

“Gentlemen—If it is your desire to insult me because I am of noble birth, go to my palace, and do there as you may think fit. I will even give you a guard that you may not be disturbed in your amusement. But if you act thus because I am commander of Prague, and purpose making a demonstration in front of this building, I tell you candidly that I shall prevent such a step with every means at my command. My wife now lies a lifeless corpse above stairs, and yet I address you in words of kindness. Gentlemen, do not drive me to severe measures.”

The reply of the mob to this magnanimous speech was to seize the Prince and drag him to the next lamp-post, where a rope was promptly forthcoming ; but the Prince was rescued by his grenadiers, and in five minutes afterwards the artillery swept the streets. The Prince's son was mortally wounded in the affray.

The day after the Emperor of Austria had become a constitutional monarch, he received a deputation of a thousand Hungarian gentlemen, headed by the Palatine, Archduke Stephen, and bearing an address, voted by the Diet. The demands preferred in that document were,—the nomination of a separate ministry for the kingdom, consisting solely of Hungarians, and responsible for all its acts to the Diet ; a new representation of the whole population, without distinction of rank or birth ; the organization of a national guard ; the transference of the Diet from Presburg to Pesth ; and a liberal constitution for all the other states of the empire. Furthermore, the address declared it to be the firm intention of Hungary, as well as an essential condition of its welfare, to remain indissolubly united to the empire.

A part of these demands was hardly consistent with the pledge of union that accompanied them. For instance, not content with a distinct administration for the internal affairs of the kingdom, the Hungarians insisted on having their own ministry of foreign affairs, a thing clearly incompatible with any kind of state federation. How is it possible to reconcile with the idea of an imperial unity the existence of separate and perhaps contrary relations with foreign countries? Nations so situated with respect to each other may severally obey the same sovereign, like Great Britain and Hanover under the Georges, but they cannot form parts of one empire.

But the Court of Vienna was just then in no condition to be critical. The demands of the Hungarians were granted in their fullest extent, and a new administration was formed under the presidency of Count Batthiany, the leader of the Opposition in the Chamber of Magnates. The department of finance was occupied by the advocate Kossuth, who had led the extreme section of the Opposition in the Second Chamber. Under his influence the Diet forthwith consummated all those important internal reforms which had been begun by the spontaneous movement of the generous Hungarian nobles, and which had been steadily prosecuted up to the moment when the European revolution broke out. The last remains of the oppressive feudal system were swept away. The peasants were declared free from all seignorial claims; in other words, the tenants of one half the lands in Hungary were declared possessors of that land, rent free, the landlords to be indemnified by the country at large. The peasant and the burgher were at once admitted to all the rights of nobles; and a new electoral law was passed, conferring the suffrage on all who possessed property to the amount of 300 florins, or thirty pounds sterling. After decreeing these important measures, the Diet was dis-

solved, and a new Diet was summoned for the second of July. During the recess the Diet of Transylvania met, and voted the union of that country to Hungary, from which it had been separated for more than two hundred years.

But now arose new difficulties, the peculiar nature of which demands some preliminary explanations.

The kingdom of Hungary, like the empire of which it forms part, is a crude agglomeration of various races, between whom there exist, unallayed even by an incipient decree of assimilation, the strongest mutual contrasts in physical character, language, religion, manners, and customs. The Hungarians proper, or Magyars, are in a minority, their number a little exceeding four out of the ten millions of the population. This Scythian race, which entered the country about a century before the Norman invasion of England, has retained many characteristics of a conquering invasion, and stands, therefore, in the anomalous position of a subject towards Austria and an oppressor towards the aboriginal race, the Slavonian, which slightly exceeds its numbers. The Wallacks, or *Roumani*, descended from Trajan's legionary colonists, are about a million. The Germans are somewhat less numerous; and the rest of the population is made up of a miscellaneous scattering of Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Italians, French, &c.

Among the grievances alleged against the Magyars by the other races of Hungary, there was one which seems to have been resented with peculiar acrimony. After long struggles, the Magyars had forced the Austrian Government to discontinue the use of the Latin language, and substitute for it the Magyar in its official intercourse with Hungary. It would be impossible to exaggerate the passionate eagerness with which the Hungarians had pursued this object, or the exultation with which they hailed a victory so gratifying to their national pride. Something, however, was

still wanting ; they had acquired the right of employing their own language in their dealings with Austria ; but in order to make it the common language of Hungary, it was necessary to teach it to the other more numerous races of the kingdom, most of whom knew Latin (very badly, no doubt), but not a word of Magyar. And now those very men who had thought it such a hardship that they should be compelled to speak in an alien tongue, did not scruple to impose the same hard terms on others. In every village, by whatever race occupied, the schoolmaster was obliged to give his lessons and the priest to deliver his sermons in Magyar ; and in the Diet no other language was allowed. It is easy to imagine the intense irritation produced by this arbitrary proscription of the mother-tongue of six millions of people. The resistance was vehement on all hands ; but it was especially in Croatia that the pretensions of the Magyars to be sole representatives of Hungarian nationality encountered the most sturdy opposition.

The Croats are a tribe of the Illyrian branch of the great Slavonic stock. Their country occupies the southern portion of Hungary, from the Drave to the point where the Danube, suddenly changing its direction near Belgrade, runs again eastward. Croatia embraces a surface of 950 square miles, and its population, including the frontier regiments, is about 800,000 souls. Under the name of the kingdom of Croatia and Esclavonia, it is ruled by its own peculiar laws, has its separate Diet sitting in Agram, its capital, and may be considered as standing in the same relation to the Government at Pesth as Hungary does to the Austrian Government (*regnum in regno*).^{*} The Croat Diet was represented in that of Hungary by three delegates from its own body, and the viceroyalty of the

* A kingdom within a kingdom.

kingdom is exercised by a chief elected by the Diet with the approbation of the Emperor. His title is that of *Ban of Croatia*, and his office is the third in dignity under the Crown of Hungary, and next to those of the Palatine and the Supreme Judge.

The aversion with which the Croats always regarded the Hungarians was greatly augmented after the 16th of March; for they feared, that when the common pressure of Vienna was removed from both countries, Croatia would fall into subjection to Hungary. The latter had already wrested from the feeble hands of the Imperial Government the control of the military frontiers of the kingdom, which had previously belonged to the Aulic Council. The warlike inhabitants of those countries are, for the most part, Croats; placed at the disposal of the Hungarian Ministry, they were lost for the common defence of the empire, and might be made instrumental in coercing Croatia. Furthermore, the Diet of Agram complained that its privileges, as regarded the Assembly at Pesth, had been subverted without its own consent. Croatia, as a separate kingdom, had a right of veto in certain cases in the Diet; it was now deprived of that safeguard of its independence by a new arrangement, which augmented indeed the number of its representatives, but reduced the effective value of their votes to that of their numerical ratio to the Hungarian and Transylvanian majority. The Croats protested against the usurpation, and no deputy of their nation appeared at the opening of the Diet of Pesth in July. The Hungarian Government took no pains to allay the jealousy of the less favored race: not one Croat was admitted into the Ministry, or into any of the higher offices of state. This inordinate selfishness soon provoked its own punishment.

The Baron Joseph Jellachich, a colonel in the military colonies, idolized by his soldiers, had long been looked on with hopeful eyes by the patriots of Agram.

Elected by the unanimous suffrages of his countrymen to be their Ban, he immediately assumed a hostile attitude towards Hungary. There was no need to look for any recondite motives of this policy ; its causes lay plain to sight in the character and circumstances of Jellachich's nation. The Magyars, however, affected to consider him as the *paid lieutenant of Nicholas*—a gratuitous supposition, totally at variance with the Ban's proud, frank, and chivalrous nature. It was not alone in districts over which he had sway that the Slaves were arrayed against the usurping race : those of the northern districts rose also in insurrection. The revolution of the 16th of March had only hastened the explosion of their long-gathered resentment. The language of all the Slaves to the Magyars was precisely the same as that which the latter had for twenty years addressed to the Austrian Government ; and the new Hungarian Government replied in words which seemed as though they had been borrowed literally from the old Imperial Government. "Croatia is in revolt!" said the minister Kossuth, in the sitting of the 11th of July. "The Croats have imagined that, under favor of the revolutionary crisis in Europe, they might put themselves with impunity in open rebellion against the Hungarian monarchy. The new Ban has not presented himself in Pesth, notwithstanding the order conveyed to him to that effect." And then, suddenly possessed with a singular affection for his majesty the King of Hungary, Kossuth concluded his speech with these lofty words, which would not have ill become a loyal chancellor of the realm,—*"We will never acknowledge that the Ban Jellachich is upon the same level with the King of Hungary : the King of Hungary may pardon ; the duty of Jellachich is to obey !"*

It must be owned that, in thus denouncing Jellachich as a rebel, Kossuth was warranted by no less

an authority than that of the Emperor himself. The Ban had summoned an extraordinary diet of the triple kingdom of Dalmatia, Esclavonia, and Croatia, to meet in Agram, on the 5th of June, and deputies from all the other Austro-Slavonian countries were invited to attend. The Imperial Government declared this Diet illegal; and Jellachich was summoned to appear before the Emperor at Inspruck, and account for his conduct. He refused to obey the summons. The Diet was held, and he was installed at Agram in his new dignity with unusual pomp and ceremony, the oath being administered to him by the Greek bishop of Carlowitz. Thereupon the Emperor issued a decree, the execution of which was confided to Count Batthiany, by which the contumacious Ban was declared to be a rebel, and divested of all his offices and powers. All civil and military functionaries were ordered to refuse him obedience, otherwise they should be considered his accomplices and fellow-rebels. At the same time the Austrian field-marshal Hrabowsky took the field against the insurgent Croats. Early in June he bombarded Carlowitz, where the insurgents had mustered about 7000 men. The town was completely destroyed; no trace left of its splendid cathedral and archducal palace: nothing remained but a smoking heap of ruins. The town of Neusatz, too, had prepared to withstand a siege, but surrendered on being threatened by Hrabowsky with the same treatment he had inflicted on Carlowitz.

CHAPTER X.

AUSTRIA.

THE CIVIL WAR IN HUNGARY—MURDER OF COUNT LAMBERG.

At last, however, the Ban repaired to Inspruck in the beginning of July, and offered such explanations as could leave no doubt respecting his attachment to the Imperial authority. An attempt was then made to smoothe away the difference between the Ban of Croatia and the Hungarian Ministry, and the Archduke John was intrusted with the task of mediation. He, however, was soon afterwards appointed Regent of the Empire, and the Ban returned to Agram. Some weeks were thus lost; but at last a conference was opened at Vienna between Jellachich and Count Batthiany. Both were obstinate and arrogant in their pretensions, and the Imperial Government was too weak to exact from them the reciprocal concessions necessary to a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The two plenipotentiaries parted with terms of mutual defiance. "We shall meet again on the Drave" (the frontier of Croatia), said Count Batthiany. "No," retorted Jellachich, "but on the Danube." The quarrel was only to be settled by the arbitrament of arms; yet to the very last hour efforts were made to resume negotiations; the Palatine was appointed to succeed the Archduke John as mediator, and Count Batthiany had a final interview with the Ban in the very camp of the Croatians.

While Jellachich was strengthening his connexion with Vienna, the Hungarian Government was opening the new Diet at Pesth. The previous assemblies had met at Presburg, a little town on the verge of the Austrian frontier, and consequently placed, as it were, under the hands of the Imperial Government. The Archduke Stephen opened the Diet on the 5th of July, in the name of his majesty, King Ferdinand V. The language in which he condemned the Croat insurrection was unequivocal. "The King," he said, "after having spontaneously sanctioned the laws voted by the Diet, has seen with grief, that the agitators, especially in Croatia, have excited the inhabitants of different creeds and languages against each other. By harassing them with false rumors and idle terrors, they have been driven to resist laws which, they assumed, were not the free expression of his Majesty's will. Some have gone further, and have averred that their resistance was made in the interest of the royal house and with the knowledge and consent of his Majesty. His Majesty scorns such insinuations; the King and his royal family will at all times respect the laws and protect the liberties granted to his people."

In the Chamber of Deputies, Kossuth explained the existing state of things in a speech which could not be denied the merit of great frankness. "You see with your own eyes," he said, "the frightful situation of the country; the treasury is empty, and the land without an army. Perhaps we are come too late to complete the reforms of the constitution. Justice had been too long delayed, and the day when its reign was proclaimed beheld the dissolution of all the bonds that had held the nation together." With respect to the Croatian question, the minister was of opinion, that notwithstanding the evident rights of Hungary, the only means that remained for it to settle its difference with Croatia was, to entreat the king to interfere as

mediator between the two countries. In conclusion, he asked for an extraordinary contribution of 50,000,000 of florins, and a levy of 200,000 men, both for the purpose of terminating the quarrel with Croatia by force of arms, if needful; and also in order to aid in supporting the cause of the empire in Italy. These proposals were adopted by acclamation, and a decree was issued for the creation of 5,000,000 of paper money.

Much surprise was felt in Europe at the resolution of the Diet to help in upholding Austrian domination in Italy. Every one would rather have believed that Hungary was inclined to make common cause with the Italians, at least to the extent of withdrawing her troops from Lombardy. But it was not yet generally known how very illiberal the liberalism of Pesth could be. "Some have expressed a desire," said Kossuth, on this occasion, "that we should remove our troops from Italy; but were we to do so, 35,000 Croats would also return to this country, and give us fine work to do." It can scarcely be doubted, that the Hungarian Minister of Finance was already resolved to break with the Austrian Government, at the very moment when he talked most loudly of assisting it with men and money. The pretence of sending fresh regiments to Italy was only adopted in order to sanction with the Emperor's name the levy of troops and contributions, which should remain in the minister's own hands, ready for all contingencies, war with Austria included.

One of the earliest measures of the new Hungarian Government had been to send a deputy to Paris and another to Frankfort, to establish direct relations with foreign governments, and to solicit the aid of the central German power. At Frankfort, the deputy Szalay represented that the Austrian army could not be considered as a German military force; that it was by its very nature dangerous to German freedom; that it was,

therefore, the interest of Germany to effect, in concert with Hungary, a separation of the various nationalities of which that army consisted; in other words, to bring about a dissolution of the Austrian empire. To prevent the danger he pointed out, the Hungarian envoy solicited the mediation and succor of the German Parliament, not only against Croatia, but, in case of need, against the Imperial Government of Austria.

These efforts of Hungarian diplomacy were little in accordance with the loyal and affectionate spirit towards Austria which the Diet professed in its initiatory proceedings. Was it the knowledge it had acquired of this hostile policy of the Hungarian ministry, that prompted the Austrian Government to side openly with the Ban of Croatia? or was the disaffection of the Diet a consequence of its conviction that the Imperial party was secretly abetting the designs of the Croats? We incline to think that both suppositions must be admitted, and that the two Governments were from the first intent on overreaching each other. The convenient morality of the Austrian monarchy would not forbid it to reject whatever opportunities might arise for retracting some of the concessions extorted from it. The Hungarian Cabinet, aware of this tendency, would constantly seek to combat it by every possible means, until at last the mutual jealousy of the two parties had entangled them in a quarrel, from which there was no issue but by the sword. This view of the case is confirmed by the language held by Kossuth, so early as the 11th of July. From the very magnitude of the concessions made by Austria, he argued the folly and danger of relying on her good faith. "Do not deceive yourselves, citizens," he exclaimed; "the Magyars stand alone in the world against the conspiracy of the sovereigns and nations that surround them. The Emperor of Russia besets us through the Principalities, and everywhere, even in Servia, we detect his hand and

his gold. In the north, the armed bands of Slaves are endeavoring to join the rebels of Croatia, and are preparing to march against us; in Vienna, the courtiers and statesmen are calculating the advent of the day when they shall be able again to rivet the chains of their old slaves the Magyars, an undisciplined and rebellious race. O, my fellow-citizens, it is thus that tyrants have ever designated free men. You are alone, I repeat; are you ready and willing to fight?"

During the months of July and August the strife between the Imperial Government and the Hungarians was waged with arms of courtesy; but by September their mutual acrimony had become uncontrollable. Early in that month the Emperor refused to sanction the decree for the emission of paper money; and this refusal was met by another decree making it a capital felony to refuse the new assignats. Meanwhile civil war was raging with great atrocity in all the border lands of Hungary; some troops were assembled on the frontiers of Croatia, under the immediate command of Meszaros, the Hungarian Minister of War; but they consisted chiefly of Slaves, who showed a great repugnance to serve against their brethren in language and religion. The second regiment of Transylvania, consisting of Wallacks, after arriving by forced marches at Tchegedin, refused to advance further, wheeled round and returned to its old quarters.

On the 5th of September, Kossuth was carried to the hall of the Diet, enfeebled by illness, but unwilling to flinch from a crisis which might be decisive of his country's welfare. He declared that, looking upon the formidable dangers that surrounded them, the ministers of the Crown might soon have to call upon the House to name a Dictator, invested with unlimited powers, to save the country; but they were prepared to recommend a last appeal to the Imperial Government before they resorted to a measure which might be construed

into a declaration of independence. A deputation was accordingly formed, consisting of one hundred and sixty magnates and deputies, who waited on his majesty at Schönbrunn, and addressed him in the name of the Diet in plain and stern language :—

“It is in the name of that fidelity we have shown for centuries to your ancestors that we now come to demand of you the maintenance of the rights of the kingdom. Hungary has not been united to your crown as a conquered province but as a free nation, whose privileges and independence have been insured by your Majesty’s coronation oath. The wishes of the people have been satisfied by the laws enacted by the last Diet ; why are the rights of the nation menaced by an insurrection, the leaders of which declare openly that they are in arms on your Majesty’s behalf ? Whilst the blood of Hungary is flowing in Italy in defence of the Austrian monarchy, one portion of her children is perfidiously excited against the other, and casts off the obedience due to the legal Government of the country. Insurrection threatens our frontiers, and, under the pretence of upholding your authority, it is actually assailing the integrity of the kingdom, and our ancient and new liberties ! It is in the name of the people we call on your Majesty to order the Hungarian regiments to obey the Hungarian ministry, without reserve, and notwithstanding all other orders. We desire that Croatia be freed from military despotism, in order that it may unite fraternally with Hungary. Finally, we demand that your Majesty, discarding the reactionary counsels of those about you, give your immediate sanction to all the measures voted by the Diet, and come and reside in Pesth among your people, where your royal presence is necessary to save the country. Let your Majesty hasten. The least delay may occasion indescribable calamities.”

To these peremptory demands the Emperor merely

replied, that "The bad state of his health would not allow him to go to Pesth. As for the paper-money bill, which he was asked to sanction, he would give it his candid consideration, but was inclined to reject it; and as for the Croatian question, he had already addressed a manifesto to the Ban, in order to bring about an amicable and conciliatory settlement."

The deputation heard the Emperor's reply in silence, and left the presence without uttering a single *vivat*. The ministers Deak and Batthiany, who were at Vienna, left the capital with them. The Deputies plucked from their caps the plumes of the united colors of Austria and Hungary, replaced them with red feathers, and hoisted a flag of the same color on the steamer in which they returned to Pesth.

The report of the deputation excited deep resentment in the Hungarian capital; the debates in the Diet were vehement and stormy, but the advice of the old constitutional Opposition prevailed, and it was resolved to make another pacific appeal to the Emperor, through the mediation of the Palatine. Kossuth and his colleagues resigned, and Count Batthiany undertook to form an administration of a more moderate cast; but before his cabinet was well completed, Jellachich had begun hostilities, the Diet had suffered another repulse at Vienna, and a reaction in public feeling again carried Kossuth into power. On the 17th of September the Diet had resolved, that a deputation of twenty-five members should proceed to Vienna, put themselves in direct communication with the National Assembly, denounce the treacherous conduct of the Central Government, and apply directly to the representatives of the empire for aid against the Croats. The Viennese Assembly decided by a majority of 186 votes to 108, against receiving the Deputation. Deeply offended by this insult, the Diet conferred dictatorial powers on Kossuth. The Palatine quitted Hungary on the 25th

of September, placed his resignation in the Emperor's hands, and retired to his estate in Moravia.

Jellachich meanwhile had crossed the Drave, the river on the banks of which Batthiany had told him they should soon meet ; and traversing all Southern Hungary without encountering an enemy, he arrived at Stuhlweissenburg, within one day's march of the capital. On crossing the frontier he had issued the following proclamation :—

“ To the Hungarian Nation.

“ In setting foot on this land, to which I am attached by the liveliest sympathy, I take Heaven to witness that I do this act only after having exhausted all means of conciliation ; I do it, forced by the plots of a faction of which the Hungarian ministry is only the legal instrument, and which, pursuing its criminal projects, aims only at debasing the royal majesty, and destroying the sacred alliance that attached Hungary and the united kingdoms to her king and her constitution.

“ It is vain to call by the name of revolt or treason a proceeding which is inspired only by pure love of country and fidelity to our king. And let it not be feared that I wish to retract any of the concessions or privileges lately accorded by the royal word to the Hungarian nation. All that has been done legally shall be upheld : it is not an enemy who invades the plains of Hungary ; it is a friend who comes to the aid of the loyal subjects of the constitutional king. They will hold out to me the hand of brotherhood ; and with God's aid we will deliver the country from the yoke of an incapable, odious, and rebel government.”

This proclamation is chiefly important in a historical point of view, as showing that the invasion of Hungary by the Ban was an act done of his own sole authority, and that he could not allege in its justification any official order of the Central Government. He presented him-

self as the champion of the Emperor and King ; but he did not even pretend that he possessed a legal commission to act in that capacity. His ostensible character was that of the chief of an insurgent province, whose proceedings had been openly condemned by the Emperor himself, and by his viceroy, the Palatine. When, therefore, it was discovered that Jellachich was secretly abetted and encouraged by the Imperial court, his antagonists had good reason to inveigh against such foul treachery. The grievances of the Croats were real and serious ; their cause was just, and coincided with the true interests of the empire ; but it was the traditional curse of the Imperial Government to pursue even rightful ends by crooked and unrighteous ways.

Encouraged by the Ban's rapid and unresisted march through Hungary, and by the repulse which the Magyars had recently sustained in the National Assembly, the Emperor now thought he might act with a little less disguise. He resolved, therefore, as he said, to put an end to the distractions of Hungary, and to re-establish the peace and freedom of all his subjects in that kingdom, along with the rights of his crown. The device he adopted to that end was singularly infelicitous. He appointed Count Lamberg to take the command of the whole kingdom and its contending forces ; a step, it has been aptly said, about as hopeful and judicious as if Charles I. of England had appointed a generalissimo over the royal and parliamentary armies of his early wars, in the expectation of stopping the civil conflict by the simple issue of that commission. Count Lamberg arrived in Pesth on the 29th of September, without any escort. He appears either to have been unaware of the dangers of his mission, or to have hoped to overbear them by the boldness with which he defied them. The unfortunate man fell a victim to his temerity. Previously to his arrival, the Diet had resolved that the commission by which he was appointed

was illegal, not being countersigned by any minister, and that all troops and officials obeying him would commit high treason to Hungary. Thus virtually outlawed, he was immediately beset, in the house he first entered in Pesth, by a furious mob, intent on killing him. He escaped thence, and fled to the commander-in-chief's house in Buda; tracked thither he attempted to return and claim the protection of the Diet; he was stopped on the bridge, torn from his carriage, and killed on the spot, and his disfigured body was dragged by the maddened people through the streets of the town.

The very same Imperial decree which nominated Lamberg to his ill-fated mission, imposed an armistice on the two contending parties in Hungary, and ordered the Moravian troops to enter the kingdom for the suppression of the Slavonic insurrection. But accident revealed the perfidy of these Imperial manifestations. On the 30th of September, letters were intercepted from Jellachich to Count Latour, the Minister of War at Vienna, showing that the Croatian Ban had been regularly supplied with subsidies from the capital. Thus the Emperor stood convicted of suborning civil war against his own subjects; and a minister, until then accounted respectable, was exposed in the act of lending himself to that wicked treason against the State. Lamberg was murdered; and Latour, as we shall see by and by, was murdered with every token of ferocity that could increase the horror of the deed. But far more wicked than the actual perpetrators were the cold-blooded intriguers at Vienna, whose treachery provoked the furious passions of the populace, and brought about those lamentable scenes. They indeed were guilty of the worst crime which man can commit against man, that of destroying the faith which ought to be preserved, even between enemies; and thus undermining, far more fatally than any revolution, the very framework of society.

In revenge for the murder of his commissioner, the Emperor issued a manifesto on the 3d of October, dissolving the Hungarian Diet, putting Hungary under martial law, and appointing Jellachich Commissary-general for the whole kingdom, with unlimited power, civil and military. The Diet on its part replied to this manifesto, by declaring itself in permanence as a constituent assembly. It appointed a committee of public safety, under the dictatorship of Kossuth; and the war-like Magyars devoted their whole energies to the defence of their capital. Every man took up arms, and even ladies of rank worked in the trenches.

Pesth, the new capital of Hungary, on the left bank of the Danube, and Buda, the old residence of the Turkish pachas, on the opposite side of the river, are united by a bridge of boats, and form together a city of about a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Jellachich's march had been too rapid to allow of his bringing up his heavy artillery, without which he could not effectually lay siege to Buda, built as it was on a rock, and defended by an intrepid and desperate population. He remained, therefore, some days at Stuhlweissenburg, waiting apparently for reinforcements from Vienna. While he was in this position, he was attacked by an irregular force led by Meszaros, the Hungarian Minister of War, and a portion of his cavalry suffered severely. It was after this engagement that the brothers Zechy, cousins of the Princess Metternich, were hanged as traitors in the Hungarian camp. They are said to have been convicted of entertaining a secret correspondence with the Ban, and with the Archduchess Sophia.

After his partial defeat at Stuhlweissenburg, the Ban withdrew westwards to Raab and Comorn, in which positions he could command the Danube and the road from Vienna to Buda, and effect his junction with the troops he expected from Vienna. This movement

was very differently interpreted by the Magyars and the Viennese ; the former, flushed with success, affirmed that their enemy was routed, that his retreat to Croatia was cut off, and that he was flying in disorder to seek shelter in the mountains of Styria ; the Viennese, on the other hand, supposed with every appearance of probability, that the Ban was not so much intent on fighting the Magyars as in marching a force upon the metropolis to back the court in their reactionary projects against the constitution. The cause of Pesth became the cause of Vienna ; the people loudly murmured against the despatch of troops to coerce the Magyars, and demanded the revocation of the decree appointing Jellachich commissary-general of Hungary.

CHAPTER XI.

AUSTRIA.

INSURRECTION AND BOMBARDMENT OF VIENNA.

ON the morning of October 6th, the German Grenadiers, a regiment favorable to the popular cause, received orders to march and join the expedition against the Hungarians. Having been forewarned of these orders, the Grenadiers had communicated with the National Guards of the suburb in which their barracks are situated, and with the Academical Legion, both which corps promised that measures would be taken to prevent their departure.

Parties of the confederates went stealthily by night and broke up the railway to some distance from the station, whilst others erected a barricade on the Tabor-bridge, which the battalions would have to cross in order to reach the next station. The Grenadiers were ordered to storm the barricade, but instead of doing so, they went over and joined the National Guards and the Academical Legion, now assembled behind it in considerable force. Cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were brought against the insurgents, but were completely routed by the latter, who then marched into the town. The conflict became general, and the Government troops were everywhere defeated. Between five and six o'clock, the Nationals took the War-office by storm. Count Latour, the Minister of War, was found concealed in a wooden box on the fourth story. He was dragged

out and most cruelly murdered. The mutilated body was thrown out of the window, stripped naked, and hung on a lamp-post, where it remained for a whole day, the mob slashing it with sabres and riddling it with balls. The unfortunate man had been waited upon the night before by a deputation, and urgently cautioned against sending away the Deutschmeister Grenadiers, as a disturbance would be sure to take place. His reply was, "A disturbance was the very thing he wanted; and he had only waited this opportunity to proclaim martial law in Vienna."

Some portion of the troops and of the National Guards who sided with the Government still held out in the Arsenal, whence they poured grape and canister on their besiegers. These, at last, had recourse in the middle of the night to Congreve rockets, for the purpose of setting the building on fire. The besieged were seen coming in shoals upon the roof, vainly endeavoring to escape over the adjoining houses. It is impossible to say how many were suffocated by the smoke, or perished in the flames. The remainder surrendered on the morning of the 7th and were imprisoned, and about 100,000 muskets fell into the hands of the citizens. The people might have now proclaimed any form of Government, but during the whole fight not a single cry for a republic was heard. On the 8th Vienna was comparatively quiet, the military having wholly evacuated the town.

In the midst of these scenes the Diet assembled on the 6th, and elected Smolka president in place of Strobach, who had refused to convoke the deputies. The Diet declared its sitting permanent, and elected a Committee of Safety, whose decrees should be signed by the Minister Hornbostel. A deputation was also appointed to carry an address to the Emperor, demanding the formation of a new and popular cabinet, including Doblhoff and Hornbostel; the removal of

the Ban Jellachich from his governorship of Hungary; the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians; and an amnesty for those implicated in the riots of that day.

The Emperor returned an evasive answer, and left Vienna at four o'clock A.M. on the 7th, with the other members of the Imperial family, leaving behind him a sealed proclamation, which the Minister Kraus read the same morning to the Diet. In this document the Emperor said he had done all that a sovereign could do; he had renounced the unlimited power he had received from his forefathers; he had been obliged in May last to leave the castle of his late father; he had come back without any guarantee, and in full confidence, to his people. A small but audacious party, however, had gone to extremes in Vienna; murder and rapine had prevailed in that city, and the Minister of War had been assassinated. He trusted in God and his own good right, and he now left the vicinity of his capital in order to find means to bring aid to his oppressed people. Kraus added, that he had refused to countersign this unconstitutional and threatening proclamation.

The Diet now assumed to itself executive as well as deliberative powers, and began, along with the three ministers, to act as a Provisional Government, still carefully observing all constitutional forms, and using the Emperor's name to counteract the Emperor's unconstitutional measures. Deputations were sent one after the other to invite the monarch to return, under the implied peril of forfeiting his throne. Count Auersperg, who was outside Vienna with 20,000 men, was called upon to come and aid in maintaining order within the walls; that is, in reality, to surrender himself to the force of the Diet. This he declined, on the plea that he could only act under the instructions of the Minister of War: the orders of the late minister,

the murdered Latour, did not allow him to enter Vienna, but he would obey a new Minister of War so soon as any should be duly appointed. The Diet succeeded no better with Jellachich, who was approaching with his Croats. Summoned to retire, he replied bluntly that he was the Emperor's officer, commanding the Emperor's forces, and that he awaited the Imperial orders. The Diet then turned to Jellachich's enemy Kossuth, to request the aid of his Hungarians; and his majesty's rebels, invited by his majesty's ministers, returned a fallacious promise, that they would invade the metropolitan province and clear it of his majesty's forces.

At war with his German and Hungarian subjects, the Emperor threw himself into the arms of his beloved Slavonians, to whom he had given such touching marks of his paternal affection in the bombardment of Prague. He arrived at Olmütz in Moravia on the 14th. Here he found a minister, M. Wessenberg, to countersign his proclamations; and strong in the support offered by the Slavonians to their anti-German and anti-Magyar Emperor, he threw off all disguise, and after returning evasive answers to the importunate messengers from Vienna, after refusing to accept the resignations of the ministers in that city, he declared open war against the rebels. They were to be put down by armed force, and the murderers of his faithful servants Lamberg and Latour should be handed over to avenging justice. To this end he appointed Prince Windischgrätz commander-in-chief of all his forces, except those under Radetski in Italy, and he gave the prince full power to do all things "according to his judgment within the shortest time."

The Emperor's manifesto, fulminated on the 16th, followed close upon the defection of the recreant Hungarians, who had retired within their own frontier, and left their unfortunate allies of Vienna to their fate.

In the House of Representatives at Pesth, on the 14th of September, Kossuth announced the withdrawal of his army, and professed to state the cause. He avowed his gratitude for the sentiments expressed by the citizens of Vienna, but regretted that "no *official* declaration had come from that quarter." As an advance would under such circumstances have been an invasion, he withdrew his army, and he should look only to defending his fatherland. This pretended explanation explains nothing; the only intelligible reasons that have been suggested for the apparent bad faith of the Hungarians on this occasion are purely conjectural, such as that they may have yielded to Auersperg's promises, or to the threats of Russia, that if they advanced upon Vienna she would interpose.

The conduct of the Slavonians was far more consistent with their former professions, and with their avowed policy. Immediately after the outbreak in Vienna, some thirty Bohemian members of the Austrian Diet assembled in Prague, and in conjunction with the municipal authorities took counsel for upholding the interests of the kingdom of Bohemia. Palacky, the learned leader of the Tchechs, denounced the recent revolution in Vienna, and the proceedings of the Magyars; commended the loyalty of Jellachich; and declared that the throne and the dynasty could be upheld only by the northern and southern Slavonians. Palacky and another deputy went subsequently to Olmütz, and laid before the Emperor a declaration of all the Bohemian members, to the effect that it was their determination not to return to Vienna, and that they would not be answerable for anything that might happen in Bohemia, should the Emperor refuse to transfer the seat of the Diet to another city. His majesty received the deputation graciously, and referred them to a proclamation he had signed on the 20th, decreeing the removal of the Austrian Diet to the

small town of Kremsier, in Moravia, and summoning all its members to meet there on the 15th of November, in order to proceed with the mighty work of perfecting the Constitution. "

About the same time the following letter, addressed by the Ban Jellachich to his "Slavonic brethren in Bohemia," was read with acclamations in the Slovanska Lipa (Slavonic Union) of Prague :—

"Beloved Companions and dear Brethren,—My conduct up to this day shows what I aim at and what I desire. Inspired as I am with affection for Slavism, I am no less persuaded in my inmost heart that Slavism is the strongest prop of Austria; but that Austria also is an unavoidable condition for the integrity of Slavism, so that 'if there were no Austria we should have to create one.' There certainly is not one sensible man who does not know that the existence of Austria is most intimately connected with that of Slavism. Therefore it was my duty, as a faithful and sincere Slavonian, to oppose in Pesth the anti-Austrian party which rose in hostility against Slavism.

"But as I approached Pesth, that nest of the Magyar aristocracy, our common enemies arose; and had they conquered in Vienna, my victory in Pesth would have been incomplete, and the mainstay of our enemies would have been Vienna.

"Therefore I turned with my whole army against Vienna, in order to chastise the enemies of Slavism in Austria's capital. Inexpressibly great was my joy when I saw that my brethren in Bohemia, led by the same conviction, still further strengthened by the departure of the delegates, carried their victorious banners before Vienna, for the purpose of offering me and my army the right hand of fellowship, and of thus conquering as heroes or dying with honor.

"I was led solely by the conviction that I was approaching Vienna against the enemy of Slavism;

and I cherish the hope that you not only understand my actions, but will support them. Receive my greeting.

"Given at the head-quarters of the Croatic-Slavonian army at Zwolfaxingen.

"JELLACHICH, Ban.

"Oct. 22, 1848."

Windischgrätz had now arrived before Vienna, and invested it with an army of some 100,000 men and 140 guns. Some days were spent in negotiation, both parties at the same time preparing for action. Messenhau-
ser, the commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and General Behm, who acted under him, put the city in as good a position for defence as possible, and the population were perfectly ready for fighting.

The attack began on the morning of the 28th, and by evening all the northern and eastern suburbs were occupied. Next morning the southern suburbs were attacked, and from the interior of the city a column of smoke issued, as a signal of distress, calling upon the Hungarians for help. The Hungarian vanguard did indeed show itself, but, without making any attack, withdrew immediately again to Brück. The Viennese now sent a deputation to Windischgrätz with proposals of surrender. The prince refused to abate his previous demand for disarming the working-men and the students, but agreed to suspend hostilities for twelve hours, while the besieged held a last deliberation.

The deputation returned and summoned a meeting of the town-council, which was attended by Messenhau-
ser, the commander of the Academic Legion, and some members of the Diet. Messenhau-
ser declared that he and the officers under him were ready to hold out if the council decided to do so; but the situation was nearly desperate. The troops were in possession

of the suburbs to the foot of the glacis, and the walls were incapable of general defence against escalade. On the question being put to the vote, it was resolved by three-fourths of the town-councillors that the defence should cease. Messenhauser and his National Guards, with the chiefs of the students, set about carrying this resolution into effect; and it was announced to Prince Windischgrätz. A disarming had actually commenced on the 30th; but the sentinels on St. Stephen's then announced that the Hungarians were advancing in full march from Brück, and were driving in the outposts of the besiegers. General Behm, the commander of the workmen, who formed the largest body of the defenders, had protested against the surrender agreed on the day before, and he and they seized on the announcement of the Hungarian advance to renew the conflict. This was done on all sides, with greater activity than ever, and even with some partial successes; but after the first surprise the Imperial troops drove the workmen back, and resumed all their advantageous positions.

On the 31st, the Municipal Council endeavored again to carry out the stipulations of the 29th. White flags of surrender were hung out on the bastions and from the houses; the Imperial troops advanced, but a slaughtering fire was opened upon them. This so exasperated Prince Windischgrätz that he ordered a bombardment of the city and an attack by storm on three of the south and south-eastern gates. The library in the castle, several public buildings, and two churches, were set on fire. The Burg Thor was carried by the troops, and a short but bloody fight began in the streets. The defenders being still, as on the 29th and 30th, divided amongst themselves—some only of them for fighting, more for yielding—the success of the besiegers was rapid; and before midnight of the 31st the greater portion of the capital was subdued. On the 1st in-

stant, the contest was still continued at detached points by a body of workmen and students; and the most north-westerly parts of the city were not mastered till dawn of the 2d. These last frantic conflicts were waged between some students and Croats; some of the former were thrown alive from the tops of the loftiest houses, and hardly any received quarter. The fire in the palace was extinguished without much injury to the books or archives; but the church of the Augustins was destroyed. On the 2d, the submission of the whole city was complete. All the gates were closed; all communication with the suburbs was prevented. Prince Windischgrätz proclaimed, that in consequence of the breach of capitulation, the conditions which he had at first agreed to were null and void; and the Academic Legion was for ever dissolved, and the National Guard disbanded for an unlimited time. All newspapers and political associations were suspended; all assemblages of more than ten persons forbidden; and a strict search was ordered for concealed arms.

To the last inexplicable in their movements and their motives, the Hungarians did actually cross the Leitha on the 30th October, and made a show of fighting for the Viennese. Jellachich was despatched to drive them off, and he seems to have done so at a blow; a facility strangely at variance with the boasted uniformity of success attending the Magyars in their wars against the Slavonians.

The number killed on both sides in the storming of the Austrian capital is estimated at about 2,500; the damage sustained by fire and pillage at about a million and a half sterling. The victory of the Imperialists, cruelly won, was infamously used. The horrors of the storming were greatly aggravated by letting loose those lawless savages, the Croat soldiers, to plunder, burn, murder, and ravish. In a letter, written at Vienna on

the 1st of November, the writer says:—"The victory of the troops has been abused in the most inhuman manner. Instead of making prisoners of all who were found in arms, but who offered no resistance, and delivering them over for trial by courts-martial or otherwise, they were butchered singly without mercy; and this not alone by the privates without orders, even officers boast of having given commands to that effect. An officer of the National Guards surprised by the military, and seeing his retreat cut off, called out 'Quarter!' but was shot on the spot. Persons in the streets in the evening were called to by the patrols to stand; some in their terror endeavored to get out of the way, and were immediately fired upon. I myself witnessed the death of two individuals who fell pierced with balls. But the emperor's troops have not alone massacred—they have pillaged, and, as it would seem, with full permission, no steps being taken by the officers to prevent it. At first I would not believe the fact, but have since seen grenadiers encamped in the hotel in which I am lodging, taking watches, gold-lace, and fine articles of clothing, out of their bread-sacks, so that the truth exhibited itself in all its nakedness to my eyes. You often see parties of tinkers strolling about the country to mend pots and pans; they come out of the Carpathian mountains; now fancy two hundred and fifty such fellows with muskets in their hands and a great leather sack on their backs for a knapsack, and you have a company of Croatian soldiers of the kind which Windischgrätz has let loose in masses on the city."

As military occupant of Vienna, Windischgrätz exercised the powers of martial law with a vindictiveness no less impolitic than ruthless. Daily, for more than a week, the courts-martial and the imperial executioners were busy condemning, hanging, and shooting prisoners, with a secrecy more becoming conscious

murderers than ministers of justice.* It seemed as though Austria was resolved not to let those who used to tremble at the name of Spielberg, suppose that Austrian domination had changed its nature in becoming nominally constitutional. The republican Government of France showed mercy to the political prisoners in its hands, and spared from death even its unyielding antagonists in battle. The monarchical Government of Austria no sooner regained for a time a little of its power, than it again resorted to the cruel conduct which had long made it not only feared but hated. Among the many executions ordered by Windischgrätz, two especially excited universal disgust.

Messenhauser, the brave commander of the National Guard, was shot,—an iniquitous act, which cannot be excused even on the poor plea of expediency. Imperial vengeance should have been restrained by the thought that the civil war had been solely provoked by gross Imperial treachery. A Government that had such need of forgiveness would have acted wisely in forgiving. But Messenhauser was shot as a traitor; and a chief instrument in bringing him to that fate was Jellachich, a man who had been declared a traitor in May, and who very soon afterwards, without any atonement or change of conduct on his part, had been named Commander-in-chief and Governor of Hungary.

Robert Blum of Leipsic, and Fröbel, his companion and colleague in the Frankfort Assembly, were both sentenced to death. Fröbel survives, and his story strongly inculcates Windischgrätz, who seems to have picked out the two senators from among the crowd that defended Vienna in order to treat them with especial severity. Fröbel was pardoned on the score of “extenuating circumstances;” a conflict of harshness and

* It has been said, that these alleged cruelties were greatly exaggerated, for that, in fact, only three executions took place *for high treason*. A most pitiful quibble!

leniency which indicates vacillating councils, and imparts a still darker aspect to the bad deed of shooting Blum. He should have been kept in custody, and handed over to the proper tribunal at Frankfort. To inflict a military sentence on a German senator, a man not fairly within Viennese jurisdiction, was either a savage blunder or a wilful act of scorn and defiance cast upon the Imperial legislature at Frankfort. The latter supposition is probably the true one; for Austria has scarcely ever condescended to disguise her antipathy to the phantom empire of Germany. If it was her intention to outrage that feeble apparition, she knew that she could do so with impunity. The Assembly at Frankfort did indeed evince its just indignation in very strong language; but it could do no more. The whole body rose and affirmed the following motion by unanimous acclamation, including the suffrages of the ministers Schmerling, an Austrian, Mohl, and Bekerath:—

“The National Assembly, solemnly protesting before all Germany against the arrest and execution of Robert Blum, which acts were consummated in total disregard of the imperial law of 30th September ultimo, calls upon the Imperial Ministry to adopt the most strenuous measures for calling those parties to account who, either directly or indirectly, bear the guilt of the offence, and for securing their punishment.”

Brave words, but nothing more! Commissioners were sent to Vienna, a show of inquiry was made, and the matter was hushed up.

The severities exercised against Vienna were such as to produce a revulsion of feeling even in Bohemia, and the Slavonic deputies, with Strobach and Palacky at their head, strongly protested against Windischgrätz's barbarities. On the other hand the Emperor Nicholas manifested his approval of the conduct of both the Austrian commanders, thereby ostentatiously marking his own position in the politics of Europe. To Win-

dischgrätz he sent the grand cross of St. Andrew, for coercing Vienna; he had sent him no such tribute when the prince signalized the reduction of Prague by a magnanimous and merciful oblivion of the injuries inflicted on his own household: but Prague is a Slavonic city. The grand cross of St. Wladimir was bestowed on the Ban of Croatia, the scourge of Hungary, and leader of those Slavonic races whom Russia desires to absorb.

CHAPTER XII.

AUSTRIA.

ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND—PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION—INVASION OF HUNGARY BY THE IMPERIAL FORCES.

AFTER the inexorable Windischgrätz had done his bloody work, the Imperial Government entered upon a conciliatory course towards all but the refractory Hungarians, who were sharply admonished against lending themselves to the "impertinent intrigues" of the traitor Louis Kossuth. A new Ministry was formed, as follows:—Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, Premier and Foreign Minister; Count Francis Stadion, Interior; Baron Kraus, Finance; General Cordon, War; Dr. Bach, Justice; Rhinnfield, Worship; Bruck, Commerce and Public Works; Thienfeld, Agriculture. Count Stadion stipulated that certain State Councillors, and some other instruments of Metternich, should be dismissed.

The Diet assembled at Kremsier on the 22d of November, and was formally opened in the Cathedral Church. Nearly all the members were present. On the 27th the Premier delivered a speech, declaring the principles on which he and his colleagues proposed to act in their government. So far as we may judge from that manifesto, the statesmen who have subscribed to it were honestly and judiciously intent on consolidating the liberties acquired by the Revolution of March. Resolved to vindicate that authority in the Executive,

without which no Government can exist, they disclaim all reactionary intentions, and, instead of endeavoring to re-establish the Austria of 1815, they seek to develop a new Austria, suited to the altered state of Europe. This is to be effected by organizing a true representation of the people, on the basis of free institutions and local self-government, with a vigorous central administration. Such a constitution of the empire would be the very opposite to that which existed down to 1848; that was a centralized bureaucracy, ruling over provinces kept in a state of subjection, separation, and mutual ignorance: the new plan was a popular machinery of government and a federalized consolidation.

To give more vigor to the prosecution of the grand work proposed in the ministerial programme, and also to inspire the sore-tried subjects of the Austrian Crown with fresh hope and confidence, it was deemed requisite to hold out some token of renovation more signal and impressive than a mere change of ministry. The honor of the Imperial name had been sullied past all cure in the person of Ferdinand. Not all the superstitious attachment of the Austrians to their sovereign could long countervail their just indignation and disgust at the deeds done in his name by the irresponsible keepers of the idiot monarch. A project, therefore, which had been openly discussed in May, after the flight to Innsbruck, was now carried into effect, and on the 2d of December the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated the Austrian throne; Francis Charles, his next brother and legal heir, renounced the succession; and Francis Joseph, a young man only in his nineteenth year, and son of the renouncing Archduke, was proclaimed Emperor of Austria, &c., by the name of Francis Joseph the First.

The transfer of the crown relieved the subjects of Austria, not only of an imbecile emperor, but also of the camarilla that had made him their stalking-horse

for the perpetration of such incalculable mischief. The Princess Sophia, wife of the Archduke Francis Charles, over whom she rules, was the leading spirit of the camarilla, and generally regarded as the heart and soul of the Metternich party. To have placed the crown on her husband's head would have been tantamount to a restoration of absolute monarchy ; whereas the election of the Princess's son was accepted as a public and unequivocal announcement of her defeat. The whole family circle was immediately broken up : the ex-Emperor and his consort departed for Prague ; the Archduchess Sophia and the Archduke Francis Charles for Munich ; and the Archduke Ferdinand D'Este for Berlin and Dresden. The young Emperor's inaugural proclamation is a state paper of high interest :—

“ We, Francis Joseph I., by the grace of God Emperor of Austria, &c.

“ By the resignation of our beloved uncle, the Emperor and King Ferdinand the First, in Hungary and Bohemia of that name the Eighth, and by the resignation of our beloved father, the Lord Archduke Francis Charles, and summoned on the strength of the Pragmatic Sanction to assume the crown of this empire, proclaim hereby solemnly to our people the fact of our ascension to the throne, under the name of Francis Joseph the First.

“ We are convinced of the necessity and the value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous reformation of the monarchy.

“ On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their equally partaking in the representation and legislation, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur ; it will acquire new strength to resist the storms of the time ; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues united under the sceptre of our fathers.

“Jealous of the glory of the crown, and resolved to preserve the monarchy uncurtailed, but ready to share our privilege with the representatives of our people, we hope, by the assistance of God and the co-operation of our people, to succeed in uniting all the countries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral state. We have had severe trials; tranquillity and order have been disturbed in many parts of the empire. A civil war is even now raging in one part of the monarchy. Preparations have been made to restore legal order everywhere. The conquest over rebellion and the return of domestic peace are the first conditions to the great work which we now take in hand.

“In this we rely confidently on the sensible and candid co-operation of the nation by its representatives.

“We rely on the sound sense of the loyal inhabitants of the country, whom the new laws on the abolition of servitude and imposts have admitted to a full enjoyment of civil rights.

“We rely on the loyal servants of the state.

“We expect our glorious army will persevere in their ancient fidelity and bravery. They will continue to be a pillar of the throne, and a bulwark to the country and its free institutions.

“We shall be happy to reward merit, without any distinction of birth or station.

“People of Austria! it is an awful time in which we mount the throne of our fathers. Great are the duties of our office, great is its responsibility. May God protect us.

“FRANCIS JOSEPH,

“SCHWARZENBERG.

“Olmütz, December 5, 1848.”

Notwithstanding the enlightened views and apparently upright intentions of the new authorities, they could not at once win the affections of the country.

Suspicion had grown inveterate in the minds of the Austrians through long acquaintance with bad government. Besides this, the Administration was, of course, obliged to employ a host of functionaries, trained and hardened in the practices of the Metternich school; and these men could not soon forget their old ways. To these two causes we may, in fairness, attribute a belief strongly entertained by the people, that the new Government was engaged in a low intrigue to re-establish the old despotic system. "I cannot believe they are right," says the Viennese correspondent of *The Times*, "but I do wish Austrian Governments—no matter whether represented by Pillersdorf, or Doblhof, or Wessenberg, or Schwarzenberg—would condescend to act with candor. It is but natural that a thousand abuses cannot be put down in a few weeks; where so much is to re-make, the most necessary reforms must be put off to a more convenient time. But they ought to eschew sleights of hand. I grieve to see that the rulers of this country are still given to trickery. I mentioned in a former letter the case of flogging in the army. That punishment has been abolished by law, and yet the soldiers are as much beaten as they ever were. The law of abolition was made for the public papers only. Another grievance, perhaps an imaginary one, was the 'Theresianum,' a kind of charity-school for young aristocrats. The Government lately abolished this Theresianum. The *Wiener Zeitung* was very eloquent on the liberality of that measure, and the great good it would do to the public. But, while people congratulated each other on this momentous improvement, the Theresianum was quietly re-opened. Cunning like this is akin to that of the ostrich."

The good people of Vienna fondly expected, for their own share in the graces and bounties of the new reign, the immediate removal of the state of siege, and the

arrival of their young Emperor in the ancient capital of his dynasty. But they were doomed to disappointment in both respects. The Emperor continued to reside at Olmütz; and as for the state of siege, it could only cease to exist with the rebellion in Hungary. The Imperial army could not afford to leave unrestrained in its rear a city of doubtful and even hostile sentiments, whilst about to engage in a war which was likely to be both protracted and bloody.

Hungary was the only portion of the empire to which the advent of the new monarch brought no hopeful prospects. While to some provinces was vouchsafed a continuance of that peculiar favor they had for some time enjoyed, and while, in other provinces, coercive measures were suspended or mitigated, Hungary was threatened with an invading army, and her leading men were denounced as traitors. Prague had been coerced, so had Vienna, so had Lombardy; but the rough measures inflicted on them belonged to the bygone reign: it was to Hungary alone that the new Emperor presented an adverse front. Her leading men, therefore, were driven to desperate extremities. Their only hope lay in the renewal of the Imperial anarchy; in the re-establishment of the Imperial authority they beheld their own destruction. Branded as rebels and traitors, they retorted by denouncing the young monarch as a usurper. The Parliament of Hungary resolved, that, as regarded that kingdom, "the family abdications and the shiftings of right which took place at Olmütz on the 2d of December" were null and void, inasmuch as any such arrangements "could have no effect on the royal throne of Hungary unless the Hungarian Parliament were consulted and had given its consent." Whoever, therefore, claimed royal jurisdiction in Hungary, without having been first acknowledged by the Law, the Constitution, and the Parliament, was to be resisted as an usurper, and

those who neglected that duty should be liable to prosecution for high treason against the country.

The constitutional law, thus laid down, was admitted to be correct; the Imperialists themselves owned that a change in the Hungarian succession requires the consent of the nation, and they doubted not but that, at the proper season, that assent would be solicited, but they denied that the body calling itself the Hungarian Parliament had any right to that designation. It had been dissolved by the Emperor, King Ferdinand, in the exercise of his unquestionable prerogative, and it existed only as an illegal and revolutionary assembly.

Vast preparations were now made on both sides for what seemed likely, from the mutual acrimony of the belligerents, to prove a war of extermination. Two months were spent by the Imperial generals in collecting troops from all corners of the empire, and inclosing Hungary within a ring-fence of bayonets and cannon. The campaign then began after the fashion of those great sporting *battues*, in which every head of game in a large district is driven in before a continually narrowing circle of hunters. The main army of invasion marched eastward from Austria in three divisions, under Jellachich, Simonich, and Serbelloni; Windischgrätz retaining the general command. From the Gallician frontier, General Schlich directed his march due south towards the heart of the kingdom. Nearly opposite him was the force advancing under Dahlen from the Illyrian provinces; while Puchner, Urban, and Wardener, who had already put down the insurrection in Transylvania, were pressing upon the eastern frontier. The opening of the campaign is thus described under the date of Vienna, December 21:

“It would seem that Prince Windischgrätz wishes to make up for lost time. He has been marching his troops and carrying his stores for seven long weeks.

He gave the fanatic Magyars nearly two months' time to ponder on the fall of Vienna and to beware of a like curse, to make their country impassable, and to drill the savage hordes of their Landsturm into something like order. Six weeks is the time usually allowed for the breaking in of a recruit. Prince Windischgrätz has been generous : he granted the Magyars an extra week to give the tyros the finish. They seem to have profited by it. It is true the serene Commander-in-chief had no sooner appeared among the armies stationed along the Hungarian frontier than he led his troops boldly on, carrying everything before him. The campaign had a glorious opening. Oedenburg was taken on the first day, Tyrnau on the second, and Presburg on the third. The Imperialists advanced at double quick time ; the Magyars made a running fight of it : they took up positions merely in order to leave them when attacked ; the prisoners whom the Imperialists took were Marodeurs, that could not keep up with the quickness of the retreat, and the five guns which the former captured had their carriages broken. Presburg itself was taken in the most amicable manner. The Magyars left by one gate while the Imperial troops entered by another.

“Details like these characterize the campaign. After all their boasting, the Magyars were bad fighters in the course of this summer, but they were not so bad as to disarm my suspicion of a deep plan being at the bottom of this hasty retreat. The Magyars have adopted that mode of fighting which agrees best with their origin and the nature of their country—to wit, the Parthian : they retire as the enemy advances ; they rather obstruct his progress than oppose it ; they call in want, fever, and cold, to assist them ; and surely these must make more havoc than the sabres of the Szeklers ever can do. The Imperial armies have to make their way through deserted tracts of country ; the bridges being broken

down, they must ford the rivers, or halt until other bridges have been constructed. If they wish to take their commissariat and stores along with them, their march must be tedious and slow beyond conception; if, on the contrary, they push forward, they fall a prey to all the evils of a famine. Fancy them on their progress through the inhospitable plains of inner Hungary, and, now that the winter has fairly set in, exposed to all the inclemencies of the season, unsheltered, unfed, and harassed by the light horse of a foe who ever attacks, and ever retreats from attack. And fancy that foe, though perhaps not naturally of the bravest, yet urged to the most unremitting violence by the consciousness of crime and the anticipation of punishment. I have had occasion to talk to some people who lately came from Pesth, and who assure me that the inhabitants of the Hungarian capital are fully aware of what they have staked in the game, that their former misdoings compel them to resist to the last, and that they are resolved to do so. The just retribution which Prince Windischgrätz has dealt on the malefactors of Vienna has there been amplified by rumor into deeds of most bloody revenge and cruelty. No matter whether true or not true, the people of Hungary believe that the Commander-in-chief treated the Viennese most barbarously; and the idea that his treatment of them would be by far harsher goads them into phrensy. In short, the Hungarians have gone so far that they cannot retrace their steps."

Their cause was indeed desperate: the whole strength of the empire combined against them, all succor cut off from them, and their only hope of favorable interference from without dependent on the result of a mission they had sent to solicit the mediation of the British and French Governments. The Schwarzenberg Cabinet, secure of victory over the Hungarian rebellion, made no secret of their intention to profit by it, as Pitt did

by the Irish Rebellion of 1798. The *Wiener Zeitung* is the acknowledged organ of the Austrian Government, and sentences like the following are of deep import when published by it:—

“The Magyar tribe is now being thrown back upon its geographical territory, and the kingdom of Hungary, such as it has been, lies in its agonies after existing for a thousand years. Its history is ended; its future belongs to Austria.”

The sort of treatment that, in other respects, awaited the vanquished Hungarians may be inferred from the following proclamation of the Austrian Commander-in-chief; its savage cruelty confounds all distinctions of innocence and guilt:—

Head-quarters, Nicola, 26th December, 1848.

“Any inhabitant who is taken with a weapon of any description in his hand will be immediately hanged.

“If the inhabitants of any place shall, united, dare to attack any Imperial royal military courier, any transports, any or single commanding officers, or to injure them in any way soever, such place shall be made level with the earth.

“The authorities of the different places shall answer with their heads for the preservation of the public peace.

“Prince WINDISCHGRATZ,
“Field-Marshal.”*

* Shortly after the close of the year 1848, the whole of Hungary seemed to be *de facto* subdued. Raab was taken, and Windischgrätz had entered Buda Pesth on the 5th of January at the head of his troops, without a shot being fired. Kossuth had retreated with 12,000 men to the Carpathian mountains. Frost and disease had considerably thinned the Imperial armies, but their force still appeared to be sufficient to crush all effectual opposition on the part of the Hungarians.

But the spirit of that noble people rose the higher in proportion to the difficulties and perils which menaced them. A mere fragment of the Austrian empire, they struggled bravely

against the imperial tyranny, strengthened as that was by the colossal power of Russia. During the present year (1849) the admiration of the world has been excited by the brilliant victories which have attended the career of Kossuth and his heroic Magyars. Alas! that a gloomy disaster has eclipsed the bright hopes inspired by their valor! Görgey, the Hungarian general, who had hitherto rivalled Kossuth in heroism, has at length despaired of their glorious cause. We instinctively repel the suspicion that he has been bought by Russian gold. We hope that it was not treachery, but that it was only a weak although benevolent desire to spare his country the horrors of a prolonged, and in his fear, a vain contest, that induced him to surrender his own army of 27,000 men, and, afterwards, when appointed to hold the reins of government relinquished by Kossuth, to recommend the nation to submit to its invaders. Whatever may have been his motive, his conduct has sealed the doom of Hungary. Kossuth, who could not yield, was forced to fly. The latest report is that, his wife and children being captured, he is on his way to England.

Hungary now lies at the feet of his Imperial Majesty, the Czar of all the Russias. The Autocrat has aided the Austrian Emperor with fatal success, and the period predicted by Napoleon, when "Europe will be Cossack," appears to be fast approaching. Alas for Hungary! Alas for the cause of liberty on the European continent!

CHAPTER XIII.

PRUSSIA.

FROM THE CONVOCAION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO ITS
DISSOLUTION AND THE GRANT OF A CONSTITUTION.

IN accordance with the King's famous proclamation of the 18th of March, the Prussian Diet assembled for the last time on the 2d of April, only to pass a law for convoking a Constituent Assembly. Having fulfilled that duty, the fantastic imitation of a mediæval institution disappeared like a dream, and from a representation of castes and classes Prussia rushed at once to universal suffrage. The Diet had no hold on public opinion; its best merit was having placed in a conspicuous and national position such men as Camphausen, Beckerath, Dahlmann, and others, and produced a class of persons previously unheard of in Germany—leaders of a peaceful, patriotic opposition to an administration which scarcely admitted of any check from public opinion.

But however defective may have been the constitution of the short-lived Diet, it was incomparably superior in moral weight and in efficiency to the heterogeneous body that took its place towards the end of May. The great majority of the members returned to the Constituent Assembly were men devoid of experience, of character, of ability, and even of common education. Called into existence at a most momentous crisis, its debates were poor, petty, and barren of all effect on

public opinion, and every day it sank deeper into disrepute. It was capricious and hasty in its decisions, undoing one day what it had done the day before; and it was noisy, ill-tempered, and disorderly. To escape the charge of drawing its pay for nothing (each member received three dollars for every day he attended), it sat when it had nothing to do, and it created business from the same motive, whilst it neglected that for which it had been exclusively called into existence, namely, to arrange with the ministers of the Crown the plan of a constitution. A single specimen will suffice to show the trashy character of its debates. It occupied itself during two days, June 8th and 9th, in discussing a motion brought forward by Herr Behrend, that the Constituent Assembly should acknowledge the revolution of the 18th and 19th of March, and declare its authors to merit well of their country. The motion was opposed by the ministry, who, without disavowing the consequences of the conflict, protested that it had not overturned the existing institutions of the land. A multitude of amendments were proposed, and the whole assembly plunged violently into a critical disquisition on the question,—Were the events of March a *revolution* or only a *transaction* between the Crown and the people? It was decided in favor of the transactionists by a majority of 196 to 177, to the horror and rage of the minority and their supporters out-of-doors. Some of the representatives, the minister Baron Arnim especially, were assaulted as they left the Chamber, and narrowly escaped with life.

A regular insurrection followed. The first exploit of the mob was to tear down the iron gates which had been set up a few days before on the Schlossplatz, in front of one of the two large courts round which the palace is built. The gates were strong and heavy, yet they were wrenched from their fastenings, a process that must have required immense force; the guard

on duty offered no resistance, and the gates were carried in triumph to the university, and deposited in the hall.

But this affair, which might, comparatively speaking, have passed for a venial frolic in a city given up to such perpetual turbulence and confusion, was but the prelude to a most alarming and disgraceful event. On the night of the 14th of June the arsenal was sacked and pillaged. It was between nine and ten when the mob first threatened the building. A battalion of the Burgher guard was on duty there; some of them fired, killing and wounding five of the assailants, and putting the rest to flight. But a panic seized the majority of the civic soldiers; they vehemently upbraided their comrades for what they had done, disarmed their commanding officer, and marched off the ground. The mob, after drifting about without any definite object, soon after eleven o'clock appeared to have got a hint that the arsenal was abandoned. They collected round it again and resolved to storm it. For men, even with no armed resistance to encounter, this was no easy thing to do. The windows of the ground-floor are closed inside with heavy shutters, lined with thick plate iron; the doors are all equally strong. But a large beam of timber was procured, and was applied to the doors and windows in the manner of a battering-ram. Four windows withstood all the force applied to them; a fifth gave way, and through it the crowd entered. All this while there were 250 regular troops within the building, but they remained passive, for the officer in command was told that the removal of the troops was the only mode of saving the monarchy from destruction, that all the rest of the army had left the city, and that the King had fled to Potsdam. The unfortunate captain was weak enough to believe this story, and to violate the first of military duties in abandoning his post. Had he held out a little longer, almost all the mischief

would have been prevented, for the last man of his company had scarcely quitted the arsenal before a reinforcement arrived. His conduct, culpable as it was, found a party to defend it. A deputation from several of the clubs went to the War-office, and actually demanded that the captain's refusal to defend his post should be recognised as a patriotic act deserving the thanks of the country.

The half-hour that followed his departure cost the State 50,000 thalers, besides the loss of objects which no money could replace. The scene was a most shameful one; the mob plundered, ravaged, and destroyed everything. New muskets were flung from the windows and broken; antiquities of priceless value, arms inlaid with silver and ivory, rare models of artillery, were stolen or broken to pieces,—nay, the trophies won by the blood of the people, banners taken in the Seven Years' War, and in the latter campaigns against Napoleon, were torn to fragments and trampled in the mire. It was not so much the desire for arms as for plunder that led to this outrage, for many of the arms were soon afterwards sold for a few groschen apiece.

The history of the Prussian capital during the eight months following the King's capitulation to the populace on the 18th of March is that of a chronic state of riot, with paroxysms almost as frequent and regular as ague-fits. The middle classes were more demoralized and mob-ridden than those of Paris, the Burgher guard failed in every important emergency to perform their primary duty of maintaining order; we have seen how, for the sake of peace and quiet, they marched off from the arsenal and let the plunderers have their way; they did not even protect a minister from an invasion of a few hundred men, who stormed his office, broke open doors, and had to be bought off for money. Severe monetary distress exasperated every other evil.

Thousands of artisans, deprived of employment, swelled the malefactor class in a capital that has always from 8,000 to 10,000 liberated convicts among its population, ready to take advantage of any confusion. A rapid succession of ministers passed through the public offices, some designated by the popular party, and some selected as faithful servants of the Crown, but none of them had strength to guide the Assembly or courage to resist it, or personal influence enough to disarm the animosity of a populace they could neither serve nor feed. It was the King's weakness and folly that had let loose all these elements of confusion, and lest, haply, they should at last subside, he kept up the turmoil from time to time by some monstrous outbreak of personal indiscretion. Thus, for instance, so late as the middle of October, 1848, he talked in downright earnest of his divine right as no fiction, but a living truth. On the 15th, Frederick William IV. celebrated the anniversary of his birthday; various congratulatory deputations waited on him, but he received them with anything but gracious cordiality. To the deputation from the Assembly he said, "Remember that I am still king 'by the grace of God,' and that the authorities which are instituted by God are alone able to maintain law and order."

At last a crisis arrived, and under the direction, probably, of the more energetic members of the royal family, the King for once pursued a firm, temperate, and consistent course. A sufficient pretext for this change was found in a scene of more than ordinary violence which occurred in the Assembly on the 31st of October. A motion was brought forward by Herr Waldeck, for a resolution calling on the Government to employ all means and forces at the disposal of the State for the defence of the liberties of the people endangered at Vienna. A mob of several thousands marched to the House to lend this motion the aid of

their pressure from without ; and many of them went prepared with cords with running nooses, hammers, and long nails or hooks, for the purpose of hanging certain obnoxious deputies. So violent was the temper of the mob, that even Behrend, "the friend of the people," was accused of being lukewarm, and not only was he hissed, hooted, and insulted, but his long red beard was singed off by the torches of his quondam admirers. The Burgher guard for once did their duty, and repulsed the invaders of the Assembly, killing or wounding about a dozen of them, and arresting several others.

It was expected that Count Pfuel, the premier, would take vigorous means to extricate the Government and the country from the degraded and perilous position into which they had fallen. But if the King had confidence in his minister, the minister had none in the King, and he insisted on being relieved from the responsibilities of an office which had been discredited and made almost untenable by the extreme imprudence of the King's language.

On the retirement of General Pfuel, the King committed the task of forming a ministry to hismorganatic uncle, Count Brandenburg, who was notorious for his attachment to the old Absolutist system. The Assembly thereupon resolved, almost unanimously, to send an address to the King, declaring that the country had for some weeks been kept in alarm by the projects of the reactionary party, and that "a Government under the auspices of the Count of Brandenburg, without any prospect of obtaining a majority in the National Assembly, or of gaining the confidence of the country, would undoubtedly bring the excitement to a head," and produce disasters like those of Vienna. The King received the deputation that waited on him with the address, heard it read, and then left the room without reply ; not thinking it constitutional, as he after-

wards intimated, to give an answer in the absence of the responsible ministers. As he was turning away, Herr Jacobi, one of the deputation, said, "We have been sent here not only to hand the address to your majesty, but also to give you information respecting the true state of the country. Will your majesty hear us?" "No!" said the King; whereupon Herr Jacobi burst out with the angry remark, "It is the misfortune of kings that they will not hear the truth!"

After the return of the deputation, a formal reply was sent to the Assembly in writing: it simply asserted the King's right and resolve to appoint the Count as his minister. On the 9th was gazetted the list of the new ministry, consisting wholly of persons not members of the Assembly.

At the meeting of the Chamber on that day, Count Brandenburg, Strotha, Manteuffel, and Ladenburg, entered as Ministers. The Count arose to address the House; but the President, Von Unruh, stopped him, declaring that he could not speak without obtaining the Assembly's leave. Count Brandenburg desisted, handed in a royal decree, and sat down. The decree was read, and was a thunderstroke to the Assembly. Alluding briefly to the display of Republican symbols, and to criminal demonstrations of force to overawe the Assembly, it stated that there was a necessity to transfer the sittings from Berlin to Brandenburg, and declared "the sittings of the Constituent Assembly to be prorogued" to the 27th of the month, when it required that body to reassemble at Brandenburg. The reading of the decree was interrupted by violent exclamations and protests. The Minister was apostrophized with cries of "Never, never! we protest; we will not assent; we will perish here sooner; it is illegal; it is unconstitutional: we are masters." In the midst of this tumult the Count Brandenburg rose and said:—"In consequence of the royal message which has just been

read, I summon the Assembly to suspend its deliberations forthwith, and to adjourn until the day specified. I must, at the same time, declare all further prolongation of the deliberations to be illegal, and protest against them in the name of the Crown." He then with his colleagues left the hall of the Assembly.

As soon as the excitement had somewhat abated, the steps to be taken were discussed. Two motions were made; the first by Börnemann, that the Ministers should be required to withdraw their message: this was rejected. The second, divided into three clauses, ran in these terms:—"For the present there are not sufficient grounds for removing the sitting of the deliberation to any other place: it will therefore remain at Berlin. The Crown is not entitled to the right of adjourning, removing, or dissolving the Chamber against its will. The responsible functionaries who may have advised the Crown to issue the above message are not qualified to do so, or to represent the Government: on the contrary, they have thereby rendered themselves guilty of dereliction of duty towards the Crown, the country, and Assembly."*

The three clauses of the motion were put separately, and they were carried almost unanimously by the members remaining in the Chamber—about 240; but some 59 members of the Right had first withdrawn, and they afterwards sent in a protest.

The members of the diplomatic body quitted their gallery immediately after the passing of the resolutions in defiance of the royal decree. At that stage of the proceedings, M. Nothomb, the Belgian envoy, suggested to his colleagues the propriety of retiring. "We are accredited," he said, "to the King, and not to this

* This is in allusion to a defect in Count Brandenburg's nomination, which had not been countersigned by any Minister. This omission was rectified at a later hour by the nomination being sent down countersigned "Eichmann."

Assembly. His Majesty has formally declared the Assembly closed: in our eyes it ought to be so considered; and consequently, upon general principles, and in virtue of all constitutional antecedents, I hold it to be my duty to withdraw. Upon this M. Arago said, "My opinion perfectly accords with yours, and I shall also retire." The remaining members of the diplomatic corps coinciding, the whole body quitted the gallery.

The Assembly resolved to sit in permanence. The President and some thirty members accordingly remained in the House all night. During the evening and night the populace were in a fearfully excited state, hurrying about and grouping incessantly on different spots; but they were everywhere addressed, and entreated to remain peaceable, by members of the Left, who spread themselves through the city on the mission of preaching passive resistance.

The members of the Assembly were called together by Unruh, at five o'clock on the morning of the 10th, and told of negotiations that had passed. Count Brandenburg had sent him a formal note, addressed to him simply as Councillor of State, warning him and the members of the Assembly against the illegality of persisting to meet in Berlin, and making him and them answerable for all grave consequences. The minority of fifty-nine from the Right had formally protested that the Assembly was constituent only; that in the decree which summoned it no place of meeting was mentioned; that the King had, therefore, the right to name the place of meeting, and that it was both his right and his duty to change that place of terrorism for another; that the Assembly was bound to submit; and that further resolutions passed at Berlin were invalid, and could not bind the fifty-nine or the rest of the country.

Deputations from various bodies had gone to the King with prayers to retract; but had not even had an interview. In the evening of the 9th, the President of

the Police had formally demanded of Rimpler, commandant of the Burgher Guard, whether the Guard "intended to act" on the morning of the 10th, in closing by force the hall of the Assembly. The captains of battalions met, and resolved to inform the Government that the Burgher Guard would protect the Chamber, as well as the Government, from all violence on the part of the people; but that, should the military be called in, the Burgher Guard would close round the theatre of the Assembly, and stand with ordered arms between the soldiers and the house; and should the military then advance, in defiance of the protest of the Burgher Guard and the President, the former would retire, and take no part in the proceeding. It was in consequence of these resolutions that the Assembly met at five a.m. instead of nine, as it had intended: 225 members were counted.

Unruh addressed the House in a speech counselling the most cautious moderation; "to maintain the most undeviating attitude of dignified passive resistance." The O'Connell maxims were reiterated almost in terms—"every drop of blood shed through our fault must injure, but cannot benefit, our cause;" "the blood of our citizens must not be squandered; it must be reserved for other occasions." At eight a.m. the members refreshed themselves without quitting the house. The Burgher Guard surrounded the house with a deep cordon, and the people assembled in vast crowds and testified their sympathy with the representatives; orators addressing them with advice to keep the strictest attitude of peacefulness.

About noon the Assembly was thrown into a state of great uneasiness, by an announcement that the military were on the move and about to enter the city. Several members rushed to the windows; others seized their out-door habiliments, as if to fly; but they were recalled by general shouts of "Order!" "To your

seats !” The business of the House was then resumed, and a proclamation to the Prussian people was agreed to, in which the Assembly protested against the unjustifiable acts of the Crown, and called on the people to resist by legal means.

At half-past four the President rose suddenly, and announced that the theatre of the Assembly was completely surrounded by the military. The Commandant of the Burgher Guard had questioned General Wrangel why he thus assembled his troops. Wrangel answered, that he really should be glad to get quickly into quarters : he was protecting the Assembly. *Rimpler*.—“The Assembly declines your protection : how long shall you keep your troops here?” *Wrangel*.—“My troops are used to the bivouac : they can remain here a week, if the Assembly sit so long.” At five o’clock the President announced that General Wrangel persisted in blockading the Assembly. He would allow the gentlemen in the house to go out of it, but would allow none to return. “As to an Assembly, he only knew of one that had been dissolved.” The Assembly resolved, on the advice of Unruh, to submit to force under protest ; to withdraw, and reassemble elsewhere next day. This was done. The troops made passages ; the Deputies marched out two and two ; and the Burgher Guard followed them in columns. The people were harangued from houses, and seemed to enter into the policy preached by the Left. They dispersed peacefully, and the town assumed an appearance of mysterious calm.

On the morning of the 11th, 240 of the expelled Deputies met in the great hall of the Rifle Guild, and proceeded to transact business. Addresses of sympathy poured in from public bodies in Berlin, and from the provinces. The Town Council voted its freedom to Unruh and two other members. A committee of the Assembly was appointed to draw up a full report of

events for national circulation; another committee was to consider and report on the expediency of impeaching the Ministry, and in the event of their perseverance in present courses, of stopping supplies. A report that it was intended to disband and disarm the Burgher Guard reached the Assembly, and caused immense excitement. It was resolved, that those who advised the measure were traitors to the country; that the Burgher Guard should be forbidden, on pain of being themselves declared traitors, to surrender their arms; and that they should be ordered and directed to defend themselves to the last against all attempts to disarm them.

Later in the day, a royal proclamation appeared, by which the Burgher Guard was disbanded, in consequence of its illegal deportment on the previous day. The document contained the following, among other passages, in the King's own peculiar style:—"To all of you (Prussians) I again give the inviolable assurance that nothing shall be abrogated from your constitutional liberties; that it shall be my holiest endeavor to be unto you, by the help of God, a good constitutional king, so that we may mutually erect a stately and tenable edifice, beneath whose roof, to the weal of our Prussian and our whole German fatherland, our posterity may quietly and peacefully rejoice in the blessings of genuine and true liberty for generations to come. May the blessings of God rest upon our work!"

On the 12th there appeared another proclamation, more especially devoted to the dissolving the Burgher Guard, in these words, after long preliminary statements:—"In conformity with the 3d section of the law of the 17th October, for the organization of the Burgher Guard, the contents of which are as follows,— 'The Burgher Guard can be suspended or dissolved by order of the King, for motives to be mentioned in the decree of dissolution. This suspension cannot exceed six months. The order for reforming the

Burgher Guard must be published three months after its suspension ;' we have declared the Burgher Guard of Berlin is dissolved ; and the competent authorities are hereby required to execute this decree."

The Burgher Guard met and resolved not to disband, or to yield up their arms. During the day, foreigners arrived and families departed ; both ominous events. The people maintained a peaceable attitude, but were with difficulty restrained. The Assembly continued its proceedings in the hall of the Rifle Guild. Deputations and addresses from the provinces were announced : an important one from the Assembly of Representatives of the two Mecklenburgs, applauding the Assembly for its conduct, and promising all assistance in their power ; another from Magdeburg, making a similar declaration, and sending 5000 dollars for the Deputies, whose allowances were stopped ; others from Stettin, Anklam, &c. At six o'clock, General Wrangel determined to place the city under martial law ; and the state of siege was shortly after proclaimed by officers at the corners of all the principal streets. But at the same time the interval was prolonged one day, for yielding up the arms of the Burgher Guard. The soldiers patrolled in large bodies and dispersed the crowd ; and the Parliament members of the Left were again seen in all directions conjuring the people to disperse and to be quiet. The artisans of the great iron-works also hastened to and fro wherever excitement arose, and calmed it with the words, "Be cool—be quiet!"

The night passed without any outbreak. On the 13th, the proceedings of the Assembly were interrupted by the entry of an officer from General Wrangel, summoning it, as an "illegal meeting, to disperse." The Vice-president Plönies was in the chair, and he refused to leave it unless by force. The whole House shouted, "Never, till forced by arms!" Upon this

two or three officers, with a party of soldiers, entered, and repeating the summons, received the same answer. Thereupon the soldiers advanced, seized the chair upon which M. Plönies was seated, and carried him, as gently as possible, into the street, where they deposited him safely. The members followed their President, unanimously protesting against this violation of his dignity. The military having performed their tragi-comic duty with great discretion withdrew, and the mob dispersed, after bestowing an *extempore* ovation on their representatives.

During the whole of the 13th, the people disregarded the proclamation of the state of siege, and continued to assemble in crowds wherever the military did not prevent them; but they dispersed when the latter marched among their masses. Towards night a proclamation appeared, directing the soldiers to forbear no longer, but "at once fire" on all persons who persisted in assembling, or remaining together after a summons to withdraw.

The ex-President of the National Assembly, M. Grabow, had an audience with the King; and the latter is said to have uttered the following words:—"I know that my crown is at stake; nevertheless, I am firmly resolved not to yield."

Notwithstanding their two expulsions, the state of siege, and the proclamation of martial law, the members of the Assembly persevered in their attempts to meet. On the morning of the 15th they assembled in the hall of the Town Council, and were about to commence business, when a battalion of infantry drew up before the hall, and took possession of the doors. The officer in command entered, and politely, but peremptorily, requested the members to withdraw; at the same time he showed them General Wrangel's written order to that effect. The members, after a

brief consultation together, withdrew under protest, and the troops marched back to their barracks.

In the evening, 226 members met at Mielentz's, a coffee-house on the Linden, went through the formalities of opening a sitting, and proceeded at once to debate the question of refusing taxes. "Two propositions," says the report of the proceedings, "were submitted for consideration. The first, adopted by the committee, ran thus,—

"'No Minister is authorized to levy taxes until this resolution (for the non-payment of taxes submitted to the committee) be revoked.'

"The second motion, submitted by Schulz and others, was thus worded,—

"'The National Assembly decrees, that the Brandenburg Ministry is not authorized to levy taxes, or disburse the public money, until the National Assembly can fulfil its duties in safety at Berlin. This resolution will take effect from the 17th November next ensuing.'

"The call of the House had scarcely terminated, however, ere a field officer entered the apartment, accompanied by half-a-dozen grenadiers, who were posted at the door, whilst a battalion of the same corps were drawn up at the entrance of the building on the Linden. The officer approached the President, and stated that he had received orders from General Wrangel to cause the chamber to be evacuated. This message having been communicated by M. Unruh to the House, it was responded to by a general shout of, 'We will not stir!' *President* (to the officer).—'Sir, I must beg you to exhibit your warrant.' *Officer*.—'I have no written order, but I trust you will believe my word.' *President*.—'I am far from questioning your word, but it is my duty to demand a written warrant.' *Officer*.—'That is not in my power: General Wrangel

declined to give me written instructions.' (Exclamations of 'This is shameful !') *President*.—'Have you received orders to employ force?' 'I confidently trust,' replied the Major, 'that you will not drive me to that alternative.' 'I must demand categorically,' exclaimed the President, 'whether you have, or have not, orders to employ force of arms?' 'I have,' rejoined the officer. *President*.—'And are you resolved to employ it?' 'I am,' replied the Major. (General silence ; during which the Deputies looked at each other, whispered, but maintained perfect calmness.) *President*.—'Under these circumstances, I declare that force has been exercised towards the Assembly, and that I am compelled——'

"The President was now interrupted by the whole Assembly rising, 'No, no ! a thousand times no ! We will not move from this room, although we were run through with bayonets !' Sixty or seventy Deputies sprang towards the officer and his small escort, and by their excited gestures appeared disposed to drive them from the Chamber ; whilst the remainder, in a state of indescribable excitement, crowded round the President's table. During this state of confusion and uproar, which lasted some time, the officer and his escort stood perfectly calm, but not without the precaution of communicating with the detachment outside.

"At length, when silence was somewhat re-established, there was a general call from members, 'Continue the deliberations. We will hear of no more interruptions. Clear the chamber of strangers.' Upon this the Major approached the chair, and, after conferring with the President, returned to his escort, and retired with them outside the door, whilst a messenger was despatched to headquarters for further instructions. The members now returned to their seats, and, with infinitely more calmness and self-possession than could be expected, listened to the reading of M. Schulz's

motion. This had scarcely terminated ere the whole body rose and agreed to it, with a general shout of 'Yes, yes!' This decision was no sooner known, than a triple hurrah was raised by the whole House, and was prolonged during several minutes amidst indescribable enthusiasm. At length the President rose, and officially announced the passing of the decree prohibiting the levying of taxes: he then proposed that the House should adjourn; and announced that he would communicate to members individually the time, place, and hour for their next sitting. The members then dispersed."

They dispersed, exulting in the cleverness with which they had outwitted the Brandenburg Ministry, and dealt it such a parting blow. After this exploit, the recusant section of the Assembly made no further attempt at meeting, although, to give full effect to the resolution against the payment of taxes, it ought to have been confirmed by a second vote. Victorious over the Constituent Assembly, the Ministry proceeded with the utmost vigor in executing the still more daring measure of disarming the Burgher Guard. Resistance was impossible, and the disarmament was fully effected without the slightest disturbance. The truth seems to be, that a vast number of the citizens were, in secret, not ill-pleased to be relieved of the task of keeping watch and ward, and of the toils of military duty added to all the difficulties of life and business, during a most depressed period. Nor can it be said that the interests of the capital sustained any great loss through the suppression of its civic soldiery. Against any real crisis of peril, a more inefficient repressive body than the Burgher Guard of Berlin never existed. Speculating on its reluctance to act with any energy, the leaders of the mob did nearly as they pleased. The Palace was stormed, the Arsenal sacked, and the Chamber, often threatened, was at

last actually invaded and compelled to vote under terror, and all this in the presence of 30,000 armed men !

Irrespectively of the broad question of right, at issue between the Constituent Assembly of Prussia and the Brandenburg Ministry, it is impossible to withhold from the latter the praise due to the admirable efficiency of their coercive measures. These were so perfect, that the contest was decided without the shedding of one drop of blood. Arrests, however, were numerous, and all the prisons were crowded. What seeds of wrath and hatred were sown, to bear deadly fruit at some future day, it is as yet impossible to tell. An eye-witness of the struggle, writing from Berlin on the 19th, says :—

“All expression of public opinion being prohibited, there is a perfect quiet and apathy on the surface of things ; but beneath it there is, unquestionably, the most bitter and angry feeling against the Government. The citizens do not grant, for a moment, that there was any real occasion for so extreme a measure as declaring the capital in a state of siege. They regard it as the completion of a long-contemplated plan, a fit opportunity for which was only waited for ; and that this was furnished by the events at Vienna, without reference to the state of Berlin at all. Besides the humiliation of the disarmament, the declaration of the state of siege has inflicted a loss on the city and its trade which they are very ill able to bear. Strangers avoid a place, the condition of which they imagine to be so alarming. Families who had begun to return have again fled, and large mansions are standing empty. The dreary aspect of the city is indescribable. The respectable inhabitants appear to keep purposely within doors. The streets are nearly deserted, being left almost wholly to a few working people and the military patrols. The weather, the streets, trade, poli-

tics, tempers, and prospects, are all alike dark and discouraging."

On the other hand, we find the same writer describing, only ten days later, a striking demonstration of loyalty which occurred at the Berlin Opera, where the busts of the King and Queen were crowned amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of the audience.

The King and his Ministers had unequivocally displayed their superiority in point of military strength; but this would have availed them little had the country continued in a state of moral revolt. But so far was this from being the case, that the popular sympathies, at first engaged by the Assembly, were very generally alienated from that body as soon as the illegal character of its acts came to be understood. The King's right to prorogue the Assembly and to dissolve the Burgher Guard was incontestable; the Assembly's denial of that right was a flagrant usurpation of the powers of the Executive. The resolution against the payment of taxes was equally indefensible. It had nothing in common with the constitutional expedient of withholding the supplies, or with the legal opposition to arbitrary imposts, tested by judicial authority, by which British liberty has been vindicated on certain memorable occasions. It was simply an order to refuse payment of taxes, due under laws regularly enacted and not repealed by any competent authority, and it was issued, as the mover of the resolution expressly stated, "for the purpose of throwing the country into anarchy." The scheme was not successful; the taxes were paid without much demur, and a large proportion of them were even paid in advance, in testimony of the disapprobation with which the anarchical mandate was regarded.

It is probable that the decision of the Frankfort Parliament contributed not a little towards fixing public opinion in Prussia in favor of the King's policy.

Reversing a former resolution, in which it had mildly censured the royal proceedings, the Imperial Assembly affirmed, on the 20th of November, by a majority of 276 votes against 150, a resolution to the following effect:—The King of Prussia is earnestly advised to appoint a ministry which enjoys the confidence of the country. “The notoriously illegal and dangerous resolution of the residue of the Berlin Assembly” is declared to be null and void. The Imperial Assembly will protect the rights and liberties promised and guaranteed to the people of Prussia, against all attempts to violate them.

The Frankfort Assembly had sent Herr Bassermann, an earnest and distinguished member of the Liberal party, as its commissioner, to observe the political crisis pending in Berlin, and the above resolution was founded on his oral report, made in a public sitting. He described the state of things in Berlin as appalling. The mob that, until then, had ruled in the streets, was “a most detestable one.” The freedom of the press was abused in propagating atrocious incentives to crime, in the shape of flying leaves, placards, prints, &c. “One, for instance, stuck on the walls of a number of streets, sold in all shops, thrust into your hands wherever you went, was a paper of dark red color, with the inscription, “The Republican’s Dream;” it represented a man sleeping, and all around him an assemblage of lamps with men hanging on them. The red flag was hoisted before the very door of the Assembly. The accounts of the cruel threats against members of the Berlin Assembly were, if anything, understated. Three times had members of the Right begged the House to pass bills that would give safety to their lives, and three times had the Assembly refused to pass any such bills; three times had it confided its members “to the safeguard of the people.” It had happened on the very staircase of the Assembly-house, that an orator called

upon the mob to come next time armed with short knives and pickaxes, saying that it was easier to find out your man with such instruments; and the next evening thousands of these instruments were seen! He had seen General Brandenburg and M. Von Manteuffel; and he found them determined to quell anarchy, but as decided not to infringe the liberties of the people. The Minister had said to him, "It would be impossible for any man to rob Prussia of its liberties." Now he did not consider those men so mad as to strive after what they considered to be impossible. On the other hand, the members of the Assembly with whom he conferred were absolutely proof against any endeavor of his to mediate. One of those gentlemen, an influential name, upon being asked what would be the Assembly's conditions of mediation, answered as follows:—First, banishment of the Royal Princes; second, seizure and prosecution of the present Ministers and of General Wrangel for high treason; third, the assurance on the part of his Majesty that he would execute all the decrees of the Assembly. He had tried to explain, that such an Assembly would be a Convention, and that a country with such a Government would be a Republic; but all in vain."

Strange to say, the individual who propounded the extravagant conditions above mentioned was Herr Kerchman, a judicial functionary, and reputed to be an able jurist. The proportion of lawyers in the Prussian Constituent Assembly was very large, and the consequences were anything but fortunate. The smaller minds among the legal Deputies seemed only occupied in perplexing and embroiling every question and party by idle subtleties, and contests about the most trivial points; and the more eminent of them appear to have been totally deserted by their legal knowledge on critical occasions, when they had most need of it. As for Kerchman and his conditions, there is no evidence that

he was at all authorized to propose them in the name of the whole Opposition, or of any considerable fraction of it; and Unruh and other leading men of the party loudly protested, that Bassermann had acted most unfairly and unwarrantably in reporting such unauthorized propositions, as the solemnly preferred basis of a political negotiation.

On the appointed day, November 27, the Prussian Assembly met at Brandenburg; but the Left kept their word and abstained from attending, and the Right and Centre were unable to make more than three-fourths of a House. This state of things continued for some days. At last the members of the Left entered in a body, and completed a quorum; they then tried one vote, but finding themselves in a minority they immediately withdrew, and again reduced the Assembly to an incapacity to vote. The remaining members adjourned to the 7th of December, on which day it was expected that the Left would assemble in full strength, re-elect Unruh President, and affirm the resolutions prohibiting the levy of taxes. These manœuvres were anticipated by the King and his Ministers. On the 5th appeared an edict dissolving the Assembly, and accompanying that decree was a complete draft of a Constitution, which was to have force provisionally, until it should be assented to or revised in the ordinary course of legislation.

Thus ended the Prussian Revolution of 1848. The Assembly was beaten at all points, in right as well as in fact. Its neglected task had been taken out of its hands, and most satisfactorily performed by the Executive. The new Prussian Constitution closely resembles that of Belgium. It may be ranked among the most democratic in Europe, and acknowledged as fairly realizing for Prussia all the promises made by Frederick William in March.

After suppressing the miscalled Constituent Assem-

bly, which had proved its incapacity to constitute anything, the Government next applied itself with great vigor to purge the capital of those turbulent men who had led the brawls during the seven months' reign of mob-law. All foreign political emissaries, and especially the members of the Polish Propaganda, were ordered away; and many natives of Southern Germany came under the same ban. The number of such persons deported by the police, or who fled from the terrors of martial law, amounted to many thousands. Several ringleaders in riots subsequent to the amnesty of March, were brought to trial and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment; and all the others, who were not exiles, beheld the same fate impending over them. The men who were foremost in storming and plundering the Arsenal, the leaders of the attack on the hôtels of the Ministers, the pullers down of the palace gates, and even those who addressed the crowds in the streets the night after the Civic Guard was dissolved, were all made to expiate their sayings and doings, for most of which no one had imagined any punishment possible; whilst the majority of their fellow-citizens seemed rather to rejoice in their correction than to lament it.

A prosecution was also begun against those Deputies who had, in their individual capacity, incited the people to refuse payment of taxes. The process, it was thought, would be a long one, and the result was generally regarded as problematical. But this was not all. A violent spirit of hostility, arising out of the ill-advised vote on the taxes, invaded the seat of justice itself. The colleagues of Messrs. Waldeck, Kerchman, Gierke, and other judges, who as Deputies had joined in that vote, refused to sit with them. Herr Temme, Director of the Oberlandsgericht in Munster, was on the same grounds arrested by the officers of his own court. The landed proprietors in the provincial Diet of Brandenburg, a body somewhat resembling the English courts

of quarter sessions, withdrew when one of the recusant members of the late Assembly took his seat among them. "Thus," says the intelligent writer from whom we derive these facts, "the judges will not join in administering the law, nor proprietors discuss local interests, in communion with a compromised Deputy. If this violent party spirit increase, and is carried out in all the ordinary affairs of life, endless confusion will be the result."

Some data towards an estimate of the cost of the Prussian Revolution were put forth towards the close of the year. The increased expenditure of taxation so occasioned is reckoned at 6,500,000 of thalers; in which sum are included 1,700,000 thalers distributed among unemployed workmen, and 2,000,000 thalers the cost of calling out the Landwehr and putting the army on a war footing. An estimate of the loss sustained by all classes in Prussia, in the general depreciation of property since March, forms a much sadder chapter in the history of the Revolution.

Up to the 1st of October, it is calculated that the loss in railway property, in shares and securities connected with it, was 45,000,000 thalers. The depreciation of funded property and state paper was enormous; but prices fluctuated so much that the exact estimate cannot be given. On real property, such as houses, buildings, and building-ground, the loss in the city of Berlin alone was 30,000,000 thalers, being the difference between what such property would have fetched in the market, if converted into money, before the Revolution and after it. To this must be added the loss of rent of 17,000 houses, deserted and left empty during the year. The trade of the city suffered from a decrease in the average expenditure of at least 10,000,000 thalers. The Civic Guard, which proved so sad a failure as a protective force, cost 1,500,000 of thalers; and the Government was forced to have recourse to a

“benevolence,” or voluntary loan (amounting to 10,436,000 thalers), under the threat of raising a forced one. The experiment of “concording” a constitution, which proved so unsuccessful, cost the capital of Prussia, on a moderate calculation, between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 thalers. The ruin inflicted on individuals is proved by the fact, that from the end of March an average of twenty names was daily struck off the list of citizens paying the tax incident upon employers and tradesmen; masters employing workmen sank themselves to the condition of workmen. Such is the price paid for seven months of political agitation. The expense of maintaining the whole army on a war footing would have to be added to complete the account; it is not less than 30,000 thalers a day.

The following is a brief enumeration of the most important points of the Constitution, *octroyé*, as the phrase is, by the King of Prussia to his subjects. Its 112 provisions are classified on the model of the Belgian Constitution, under nine titles. The second chapter concerns the “Rights of Prussia:” it proclaims the equality of all Prussians before the law; guarantees freedom of the person, including the right of emigration; freedom of property, of religious faith, of knowledge in its communication; giving every Prussian “a right to express his ideas freely, orally, scripturally, by the printing-press, and by artistical designs;” and it declares the secrecy of letters to be inviolable. Offences in diffusing ideas are cognisable only by the general penal code. The civil validity of marriage is determinate prior to the performance of the religious ceremony. Feudal tenures, family entails, and privileges of rank, are abolished. The third title, “of the King,” establishes the inviolability of the King’s person, and the responsibility of his Ministers. The fifth title regulates the Constitution of the two Legislative Chambers. The First Chamber is to consist of 180 members, who must

each be forty years of age, five years resident in Prussia, and in full enjoyment of civil rights. The Second Chamber will number 350 members, each above twenty-four years of age, resident six months, in full civil capacity, and not in receipt of public relief. The elective franchise for both Chambers is indirect, and is founded on population and property. "All Prussians thirty years of age," paying 24s. yearly taxes, or possessing land worth 1200*l.* or yielding a rent of 75*l.*, and who have resided six weeks, may vote as primary electors in choosing the direct electors of the First Chamber. The direct electors then choose the members of the Chamber. "Each *independent* Prussian," six months' resident, not receiving parish relief, may vote as primary elector in the choice of direct electors of the Second Chamber. The direct electors then choose the members of the Second Chamber. The sixth title, regulating the judicial power, places the judges at the appointment of the King, but gives them a life-tenure indefeasible except by judicial decisions on grounds provided by law. No previous permission is to be necessary before procedure against public, military, or civil officers for overstepping their authority. Title eighth, "on Finance," declares that taxes or imposts can only be levied under special laws, and abolishes all exemptions from burdens. Excesses of expenditure must be approved by the Chambers, and the Chambers alone can give the Government a discharge of its accounts; which must be submitted annually with the budget for the coming year. General provisions declare that laws and ordinances are obligatory only when published in a legal form; but "when the Chambers are not sitting, ordinances on urgent occasions, and on the responsibility of the whole of the Ministry, may be published with all the force of law: but these are to be laid before the Chambers for approval at the nearest session."

CHAPTER XIV.

GERMANY.

THE NEW EMPIRE—ITS PRETENSIONS AND ITS PERFORMANCES.

DOES there yet exist a German Empire? The full form of that grand creation has been for months before the world; but whether or not that form invests a corresponding reality is still an unsolved question. The Imperial Government is complete: there is the Regent of the Empire and a responsible ministry. The Regent claims, and has not been denied, control over the united armies of the empire. He has issued a circular to the diplomatic agents of the German States in foreign courts, intimating that, although they may negotiate the local interests of their own governments, they must not in their separate capacities meddle with aggregate Imperial questions. The Central Government has interposed its supreme authority on many occasions, in the internal affairs of several German States; but as in every such instance its interference has been favorable to the State Executive, no convincing proof has yet been afforded of its power to coerce reluctant members of the federal body. Now, it is manifest, that without such a paramount Imperial power the Emperor is but a nullity. This cardinal truth was assumed as the very basis of their system, by those able men to whom the German people committed the task of elaborating their own crude conception of German unity.

The remarkable manifesto issued by the Prince von

Leiningen, the first Imperial Minister of the Interior, contains proposals which plainly amount to this, that the thirty-eight sovereigns of Germany are to be reduced to the condition of mediatized princes, or of lords-lieutenant of provinces. The consummation of such a design is a problem reserved for the future to solve; all that the past tells us is, that the strength of the Central Government has risen and sunk inversely with that of the great subordinate powers. When the high princes of Germany felt their own authority crippled, they were glad to avail themselves of such supplemental aid as the Central Government could best supply. Repressive measures, which the local governments would have in vain attempted, were easily accomplished by a power that issued its behests in the name of all Germany, and whose acts were, therefore, safe from the invidious interpretations commonly put upon the conduct of men who have private and family interests to defend. Hitherto, then, the relation between the central and the subordinate Governments has been altogether void of reciprocity. Its nature has been accurately indicated by a sagacious writer in one pithy sentence:—"Prussians and Austrians, although willing enough to merge their difficulties in the common stock, under the custody of the Regent, are very jealous of really merging their powers."* An act of insubordination committed by the monarch who had professed to take the lead in constructing an imperial authority, led to a damaging exposure of the weakness of the Frankfort Government, and gave occasion to an open assault upon it, accompanied by circumstances of hideous atrocity.

The armistice concluded on the 26th August, at Malmoe, by the plenipotentiaries of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, was ratified at Lubeck on the 1st of

* British Quarterly Review, Nov. 1848.

September. The duchies were to be evacuated by the Danish and the German troops, and a Provisional Government of five persons, including Count Molke as president, was to rule in the name of the King-duke. The duchy troops of Schleswig were to be organized under the King, and those of Holstein under the Confederation. The contributions levied by General Wrangel were to be repaid, and the seizures made by the Danish fleet to be restored or paid for. The armistice to last seven months from the 26th of August, and thenceforward until ended by notice from either party. Great Britain was requested to guarantee the performance of these conditions.

The armistice occasioned a violent commotion in Frankfort, and nearly produced a collision between the central authority and the King of Prussia. The Assembly resolved on the 5th of September, by a majority of 238 to 22, to suspend the measures for carrying the armistice into execution. Its conditions were discussed in a most fiery sitting, and seem to have raised the greatest indignation against Prussia, and even doubts of her loyalty to the new empire. One of the clauses of the armistice required its ratification in eight days: that term expired on the 3d, and the ministry did not lay the document before the Assembly until the 4th. But what most of all roused the German opposition was the form of the initiative and titular parts of the instrument: it was concluded in the name of the King of Prussia instead of the Regent of the Empire, and on behalf of the Germanic Confederation, instead of the Imperial Assembly: the assuming that the Confederation still existed was deemed equivalent to ignoring the existence of the Assembly and the Regent. The appointment of Molke also gave deep offence.

The resolution of the Assembly was immediately followed by the resignation of the imperial ministry. Professor Dahlmann, the leader of the majority, having

failed to form a ministry, the Assembly was compelled to retrace its steps, which it did by resolving on the 16th, by a majority of 257 to 236, that the armistice should be allowed with the modifications which Denmark herself had declared to be admissible. The populace assembled round St. Paul's and threatened an attack on the majority as they retired, but did not execute their threats.

Next day large out-door meetings assembled, and were addressed by Blum, Simon, and other Republican leaders. Resolutions were passed denouncing the majority who ratified the armistice as guilty of "high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honor of the German people." The Senate of Frankfort sent word to the Regent that they would no longer guarantee order. The Regent induced part of his late ministry to resume office provisionally: Schmerling took the combined Home, Foreign, and War Departments, and made prompt provisions against an outbreak; bringing Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops into Frankfort.

On Monday, these measures were violently condemned in the Assembly by the Left, but it was evident that the Revolutionists were awed. Outside the populace began to pelt the soldiery with stones and to raise barricades. Schmerling declared the city in a state of siege. The defenders of the barricades were summoned to surrender, and on their refusing to comply they were attacked by the military. A sharp fight ensues, but the rioters were soon overcome, being ill-armed and not having the burghers on their side. By midnight every point was in the hands of the troops.

But before order was restored the horrible murder of Prince Lichnowski and Major Auerswald had branded the Republican party with indelible disgrace. After leaving the Assembly, of which they were members, they rode out of the town, with the intention, it is supposed, of meeting the artillery, which was to arrive

about five o'clock. Several shots being fired at them they attempted to ride back to the town, but found that they were surrounded on all sides. They then endeavored to escape across the fields, but Major Auerswald was quickly stopped and dragged from his horse. The assassins, having thrown him on the ground, coolly deliberated where wounds would cause the greatest pain, and then fired into different parts of his body. Observing that life was not quite extinct they left him, saying it was all the better, because he would have the more to suffer; but an old woman put an end to the unfortunate gentleman's agony by battering his brains out with a stone. Prince Lichnowski, after galloping about a field from which he could find no outlet, returned to the public promenade, where he was seized by a number of men, who, having literally slashed, slit, and scraped the flesh from his arms and part of his legs, left him with the remark that this was enough for the present, and that he might afford them more sport when he had recovered a little. The prince, with the utmost difficulty, crawled to a neighboring cottage, where he was kindly received. He had scarcely been there an hour when the same men, with many others, armed with guns, made their appearance and demanded his immediate surrender, which the hospitable people of the cottage refused. The wretches then made preparations to set fire to the house, and on hearing this the prince boldly stepped out to meet his fate. He was received with shouts of derision, and one of the leaders, dressed as a common laborer, declared that as the prince had always been a kind of Don Quixote he ought to die so: accordingly, they pulled off his clothes and decked him with some sort of grotesque drapery; then forming a circle round him and pricking him with their knives and bayonets, they compelled him to keep constantly in motion: at last, tired of this sport, they fastened him to a wall, and, at a distance of only ten

yards, fired more than twenty balls, most of them intentionally avoiding the vital parts; but after he had received three mortal wounds they went away laughing, and left him to suffer a little longer. In this state he was found by a patrol of Hessian cavalry, and carried, by his own desire, to the hospital, where the rest of those wounded in the riot had been received. He expired about an hour past midnight, after dictating a minute relation of these horrid scenes.

The outbreak in Frankfort was soon followed by a second Republican invasion of Baden. A column of 2000 men, consisting of Italians, Poles, French, and Germans, and headed by Struve, crossed the frontier from Switzerland on the 23d of September, but were speedily defeated by troops sent against them by the Central Government. Some hundred prisoners were taken, including Struve himself. He and eighty of his immediate followers were forthwith tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot.

The end of the year arrived before the new German Constitution had come out of the makers' hands. There seemed, at that period, an increasing probability that, if the Frankfort proceedings did not end in utter failure, the King of Prussia, or his heir-presumptive, would be elected by the Assembly as Emperor of Germany; that is to say, of a German empire in which Austria is not to be included. The Regent's prime minister (Schmerling), and Wuth, the Under-Secretary of State, both of them Austrian Deputies, resigned office on the 16th of December, and Baron Von Gagern, who was known to be strongly in favor of the claims of Prussia, became the head of the cabinet. His first care was to lay before the Assembly his views with regard to Austria, which were, in substance, that Austria, in conformity with her own declaration to that effect, should be considered as not forming part of the new Federal State; but that as she was a member of the

German Confederation, and therefore "in indissoluble alliance with Germany as represented by the Provisional Central," she should be treated with by way of diplomatic negotiation on all topics of common interest, save only the constitution of the Federal State, as to which she was not to be consulted.

We have seen what the new German Empire was intended to be ; how far the programme has been realized, we may infer from the following remarks by Von Menzel in an article of unusual length in the leading quarterly journal of Germany :—

"Fortunate might we deem ourselves could we discover a close analogy between our present circumstances and the first French Revolution, for then we might hope to arrive at last at unity, though it were through a period of terror, and the true patriot should shrink from no sacrifice that might help to bring about that consummation. But, as it seems, things will not turn out so well and so easily for us as for the French, and a much sadder analogy lies nearer to us, that, namely, of the Thirty Years' War. The erection of all Germany into a Republic, and an omnipotent dictator like Napoleon, as a consequence of that great movement, would be a good fortune for us, notwithstanding all the sufferings we should thereby have to sustain. But we shall not attain to this good fortune, since the Republican impulse is far from being so uniform and vivid among us Germans as it was in France, and since our German Republicans have from the outset made democratic freedom their sole aim, setting aside the question of nationality, and not hesitating to attach themselves expressly to France. But the strength of revolutionary France lay not so much in its thirst for freedom as in its national pride, and in a consciousness of its unity that pervaded the whole people : a circumstance that precludes every comparison with us.

"Our present circumstances portend, therefore, some-

thing more analogous to the Thirty Years' War,—the splitting of Germany, perhaps, not merely into two, but several hostile camps, by which a wide door would again be opened for foreign intervention. A powerless Central Government; powerful and mutually jealous princes; half republicanized provinces, inclined to attach themselves to France; on the other hand, provinces staunch to their sovereigns, like Pomerania and the Tyrol; political and ecclesiastical parties reciprocating equal hatred, and so well matched in strength as to give assurance of a long strife between them, but no assurance of victory; opportunity for individual great men, generals especially, to obtain a transient, but never a complete and thoroughly comprehensive power: such is the state and aspect of things, and it strikingly reminds us of the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

“Or are we to yield to the afflicting thought that, after all that has befallen, a return to the old state of things is yet possible? that the German races will content themselves with some liberal concessions as to internal reform, but give up the idea of unity, or barter it away to a new confederation of sovereigns, in exchange for restored order? To keep down the latent strength of Germany has ever since the Congress of Vienna been the common and determined policy of the foreign powers; does that policy no longer exist, and with what forces do we stand opposed to it?

“Freedom alone, not unity, has found among us bold and impassioned representatives in sufficient number; and, unfortunately, most of the warmest friends of freedom are indifferent to unity, or use it only as a pretext and a means for attaining to freedom.

“After all this new great German Revolution was, on the whole, but a consequence of the foregone movement in France. Should it come to pass that

a king were again elected in France, we, too, should feel the influence of that event, as half a year ago we felt the effect of the conversion of France into a republic.

“Let us confess that the number of warm partisans of German unity is small and weak, in comparison with those who desire to uphold the interests of the great Austrian monarchy by means of the Slavonic majority ; and with those who wish to avenge Prussia’s offended pride and old renown ; and with those who long for peace at any price ; and lastly, in comparison with the Republicans, to whom the unity of Germany is a matter of total indifference, and who would gladly sell all Germany to France, if so they might realize their communistic democracy.”

CHAPTER XV.

DENMARK.

THE WAR IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

UPON the death of Christian VIII. of Denmark, his son Frederick VII. succeeded to the throne, in the beginning of January, 1848. The new monarch's first act of sovereignty was to promulgate the project of a Constitution for his dominions, and to convoke a sort of consultative Assembly, which should elaborate the new system. In thus renouncing his absolute prerogatives, Frederick VII. acted entirely from his own spontaneous impulse. His own states were perfectly tranquil, and Europe was not yet agitated by the revolutionary movements imparted to it by the French events of February.

A considerable portion of the territories subject to the Danish sceptre is held by a peculiar tenure. In the north is Denmark Proper, including Jutland and the islands, and occupied exclusively by a Scandinavian race. In the south are the duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, inhabited by Germans, and belonging to the German Confederation. In the middle lies the duchy of Schleswig, the population of which is Scandinavian in the northern portion, German in the southern, and mixed in the centre. The numerical preponderance is on the side of the Scandinavians or Danes, the gross population of the duchy being 360,000, of whom 200,000 are Danes, and the rest

Germans or Friesen. The King of Denmark is Duke of Holstein, of Lauenburg, and of Schleswig. Holstein, it is alleged, is a male fief, and must devolve upon the Duke of Augustenburg in the event of Denmark passing in the female line to the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, the cousin of the present king. This event is anticipated with certainty, for Frederick VII., though twice married, is childless.

But it is maintained by the German party that Schleswig, though not a member of the German Confederation, nor subject to the German law of inheritance, must follow the fortunes of Holstein, by virtue of certain charters of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, whereby it was provided that the two duchies should remain for ever inseparable. On the other hand it is contended that these charters, if they ever existed (for that is even questioned), have been abrogated by conquest and by modern treaties guaranteed by England, France, and Russia. The Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp were constantly involved in hostilities against their suzerains, the Kings of Denmark; and during the wars in which the latter were long engaged with Germany and Sweden, the former were always on the side of their enemies. In consequence of this Schleswig was overrun by King Ferdinand IV. of Denmark, and the conquered territory, at the conclusion of peace between Sweden and Denmark in 1720, was guaranteed to the King of Denmark and his successors, by England and France, as a permanent and inalienable possession.

But Duke Charles Frederick, who, though he had lost Schleswig, still retained possession of part of Holstein, refused to recognise the new state of things; and when, some years subsequently, his son mounted the throne of Russia as Peter III., a Russian army was marched against Denmark to maintain the pretensions of the czar to part of Schleswig. These hostilities

were brought to a hasty conclusion by the assassination of the unfortunate prince ; and a treaty was concluded between Denmark and his successor, Catharine II., in 1762, and confirmed by the Emperor Paul in 1773, in accordance with which the house of Holstein-Gottorp (or Holstein-Kiel, as it was now called) renounced all claims upon Schleswig.

It is about eight years since the German party in Schleswig began openly to agitate the question of separation from Denmark, and from that time forth the contest has been plied with continually increasing acrimony. From their brethren throughout the whole extent of the Confederation the separatists received the most vehement encouragement. A crusade was preached in support of German nationality ; the subject was laid before the legislative chambers of several German states ; the right of Schleswig-Holstein to unity and independence was toasted at public dinners—was sung in musical societies—was discussed in scientific assemblies, and maintained in pamphlets innumerable, from the pens of the most learned antiquaries. The sovereigns of Germany willingly encouraged their subjects in a mania which diverted their attention from domestic matters. Besides this, some of the German states were actuated by still more direct motives of self-interest. Prussia especially, which had repeatedly endeavored without success to induce Denmark to join the Prussian Customs League, gladly supported a movement that tended towards the increase of her own maritime power.

Such was the state of things when the commotion following the French Revolution produced its natural effect on the course of events in the Duchies. A deputation was sent to Copenhagen to demand from the King a recognition of the separate nationality of the two duchies, and of their united incorporation with the German Confederation. His majesty replied, that he

would not offer any hindrance to a more intimate alliance of Holstein with Germany, but that he had neither the right nor the inclination to sever Schleswig from the Danish crown. He desired to maintain its indissoluble union with Denmark through a common free constitution, and further to secure the well-being of the province by extended provincial institutions.

The arrival of the deputation in Copenhagen happened just after the old, inefficient ministry was superseded by an administration composed of men of distinguished talent, who had for some years been the leaders of the Liberal party in the kingdom. No sooner was the change of ministry known in the duchies than the leaders of the separatist faction, without waiting for the return of their delegates with the King's reply, hoisted their flag, and nominated a Provisional Government of their own; at the same time proclaiming that an insurrection had broken out in Copenhagen, and that the King being held under restraint, Prince Frederick, the brother of the Duke of Augustenburg, was authorized to take command of the duchies in the King's name. By this trick the rebels were enabled to gain over part of the troops in the duchies, and to get possession of the fortress of Rendsburg. But the King forthwith gave the lie to the idle pretence, by putting himself at the head of an army which soon occupied the whole of Schleswig; and the insurrection would have been easily suppressed had not the Prussian troops, in defiance of the law of nations, crossed the frontiers of Holstein on the 6th of April, without any previous declaration of war.

The Frankfort Assembly gave its cordial sanction to the step taken by the King of Prussia; and, in obedience to its orders, his army was reinforced by contingents from Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Oldenburg. The war was universally and immensely popular in Germany. Men who agreed in nothing else, united in ardent de-

sire for the success of their brethren in Schleswig-Holstein, and for the vindication of the sacred cause of German nationality. But something less disinterested and purely sentimental than national sympathy lay at the bottom of this specious enthusiasm. Germany was bent on having a fleet! Next to the vision of a German empire, that of an imperial German fleet was the dream most fondly cherished in the imagination of the Teutons. Now, in order to have a fleet it is necessary to possess a considerable extent of sea-coast, with suitable harbors, and a hardy, sea-going population; in all which respects Germany is scantily endowed, but with the Duchies in her possession she might do wonders as a maritime power. "Schleswig-Holstein," said an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, of Augsburg, "is the handle of the sword which Germany is to throw into the scales of Fate in the northern seas. Will she look on calmly while it is wrested from her hand?"

Thus, then, on the part of the Germans, the war was an affair of unprincipled cupidity, whilst, for the Danes, it was one in which they fought for national honor and national existence. Denmark possesses a population of 1,350,000, exclusive of Iceland and the colonies. In giving up Holstein, she loses 450,000; if deprived of Schleswig, she loses 360,000 more, and must soon become extinct as a nation. If this be her doom, she will at least not fall through the cowardice or supineness of her sons. The Danes have displayed a noble spirit in their unequal contest with the invader, and their king has shown himself worthy of such a people. He renounced the fourth part of his yearly income; ordered the royal plate and medals to be taken to the mint, in order to mitigate as much as possible the public burdens occasioned by the war; and, after returning from Rendsburg to his capital, his first act was to send the whole of his guards to the seat of war, and trust him-

self, without even a sentry at the palace-gates, to the love of his subjects.

Until Schleswig was actually invaded, Denmark forbore to exercise the reprisals with which her fleet enabled her to visit Prussia; and even subsequently she contented herself with a blockade, not very rigidly enforced, and the seizure of some Prussian vessels. She neither thought of granting letters of mark nor of attacking the enemy's sea-coast towns,—measures authorized by usage, and which would have been especially justifiable against a powerful adversary who had taken the field wrongfully, and without the regular forms of war. Before the actual commencement of hostilities, it was hoped for a while, at least in Denmark, that the question would be settled by negotiation, for the plenipotentiaries of the belligerents were to meet in Hamburg on Easter Monday (24th April). In consequence of this expectation, Hedemann, the Danish commander-in-chief, had positive orders to avoid an engagement; but, on Easter Sunday, he was attacked in his position, near Schleswig, by the Prussian general Wrangel, and 26,000 Germans. The Danish troops were not more than 11,000; yet, notwithstanding the surprise, and their inferiority in numbers, they made an intrepid stand, and did not give way until after eight hours' fighting.

The Danish commander now adopted a system of tactics suited to the peculiar nature of the territory. Had he remained on the mainland he would have been compelled to recede before General Wrangel, until, perhaps, he would have been forced into a corner of Jutland, from whence there was no escape, and suffered a final defeat, which would have made the Prussians masters of the province. Hedemann, therefore, withdrew into the islands of Alsen and Funen, the former of which lies about two hundred and fifty yards off the

eastern coast of Schleswig, and is separated by the Little Belt from the larger island of Funen; and this again is separated by the Great Belt from Zealand, in which stands Copenhagen. The effect of this manœuvre was to make Wrangel divide his forces, a part of which marched without opposition into Jutland, and imposed a contribution of 440,000*l.* on that province. His abundant means of transport by sea rendered it easy for General Hedemann to concentrate all his forces in a few hours, either in Funen in order to make a descent on Jutland, or in Alsen, whence he might fall upon Schleswig; whilst Wrangel's forces, on the other hand, were divided into two bodies, placed at several days' march asunder. After making a feint of attacking Jutland from Funen, Hedemann suddenly fell back upon Alsen, and made a descent on Schleswig. The two armies were in sight of each other when the news arrived from Copenhagen that the Prussians had evacuated Jutland in consequence of the remonstrance made by the powers friendly to Denmark. It was not possible, however, that the two armies should quit each other's presence without an engagement. It took place on the 28th of May, and ended advantageously for the Danes.

Several encounters subsequently took place between the belligerents, but without any very decisive results. Meanwhile negotiations for a peace were pending. Sweden had given early intimation that she would consider an invasion of Jutland as dangerous to the independence of her own dominions. When the occupation took place, the Swedish fleet approached the theatre of war, and landed an army on the Danish islands, whilst a more considerable force was concentrated in the Swedish province of Scania. Russia adopted the same policy, and a Russian fleet was sent to cruise in the Danish waters, under the command of the Archduke Constantine. A hint, too, is said to have

been given from St. Petersburg, that the renunciation of the Emperor Paul to the portion of the duchies he inherited, was made in favor of the royal house of Denmark alone, and that consequently, should that house be dispossessed or become extinct, the rights of Russia would revive.

England, whose mediation had been solicited by both parties, proposed an armistice on the 18th of May. The terms were disapproved of by Prussia, and hostilities were continued until the 29th of June. Sweden then tried her hand, and the preliminaries of an armistice were arranged at Malmoe, in Scania, and promptly acceded to by Prussia and Denmark. Europe looked upon the affair as ended; but when the two envoys met at Colding, on the 15th of July, to arrange ulterior measures, the Prussian announced with surprise to the no less astonished Dane the positive refusal of General Wrangel to fulfil the convention signed and ratified by his Government. He disapproved of many of the conditions; and, moreover, he alleged that the ratification could not be valid without the sanction of the Regent of the German Empire.

Denmark did not at once resume active hostilities; but she increased the strictness of the blockade, extending it to the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, to the great detriment of the trade of Hamburg and Bremen. And now France sent in a note to Berlin and Frankfort, referring to the treaty of 1720, and expressly recognising the guarantee she had given for the rights of Denmark in Schleswig. Prussia yielded at last, and a convention was definitively concluded at Malmoe on the 26th of August, by which an armistice was established for seven months, as more fully stated in the preceding chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE INVASION PANIC—THE CHARTIST MOVEMENTS—THE IRISH REBELLION—THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT—COMMERCIAL VICISSITUDES—FOREIGN RELATIONS.

[The following chapter is reprinted entire from Mr. W. Kelley's History of the year 1848. It has been thought best to present an Englishman's view of English affairs during that eventful year.]

THE domestic annals of the British Empire for the year 1848 are rather of a negative character. We have not been revolutionized; we have not suffered any vast national calamity; but neither have we made any marked progress in the way of national health, wealth, and contentment. We began the year with a strange panic apprehension of foreign invasion. An old letter of the Duke of Wellington's, painfully exposing the unprotected state of our coasts, and the general inefficiency of our National defences, was published in *The Chronicle*, on the 8th of January, and forthwith there arose throughout the length and breadth of the land an affrighted cry for more fortresses, guns, soldiers, ships, and sailors. The Ministry blandly assented to the patriotic call, and we were in a fair way to see the whole island belted with bomb-proof masonry, bristling with implements of war; but the magnificent conception was smothered in the birth by vulgar considerations of cost. The proposed addition of two per cent. to the

income-tax fell like a wet blanket on our martial ardor, and we resolved unanimously to go on encountering the old risks in the old way, rather than pay so heavy a premium for additional insurance.

We can afford to smile now at the false fears that then possessed us ; but there is no need that we should give them up to unmitigated ridicule. They were erroneous in their direction, but that was all. We had sagacity enough to apprehend the approach of some stupendous commotion, but not enough to forecast its precise nature. When it came at last, and we could make out visibly what manner of thing it was, we knew better how to deal with it. Attempts were made in England and Ireland to parody the revolutionary feats of the Continent ; but the failure in both instances was total and ludicrous.

The stability of the British Constitution was tried in the metropolis on the 10th of April. On that day, a great public meeting was appointed to be held on Kennington Common, whence 200,000 men were to march to Westminster, present a petition to Parliament for the Charter, and "wait for an answer!" The intention was obviously to effect a revolution by the summary process which had prevailed in most of the capitals of Europe ; and it was confidently predicted by the orators of the Chartist Convention then sitting in London, that the Charter would be the law of the land before bedtime on the 10th of April. The Charter might or might not be a good thing ; that was a question on which two opinions might be fairly entertained : but that an organized mob should be allowed to take possession of the centre of the metropolis and make capture of the Legislature, was a matter that admitted not of a moment's controversy. So said and thought the vast majority of the population, and they took such a course as demonstrated, once for all, that they would not submit to the usurped sovereignty of a casual mob.

The preventive measures of Government, devised and personally worked by the Duke of Wellington, were on a large and complete scale, though so arranged as not to obtrude themselves needlessly on the view. The Thames bridges were the main points of concentration; bodies of foot and horse police, and assistant masses of special constables, being posted at their approaches on either side. In the immediate neighborhood of each of them, within call, a strong force of military was kept ready for instant movement. Two regiments of the line were kept in hand at Milbank Penitentiary; 1200 infantry at Deptford Dockyard, and thirty pieces of heavy field-ordnance at the Tower, all ready for transport by hired steamers, to any spot where serious business might threaten. At other places also bodies of troops were posted, out of sight, but within sudden command.

In addition to the regular civil and military force, it is credibly estimated that at least 150,000 special constables were sworn and organized throughout the metropolis, for the stationary defence of their own districts, or as movable bodies to co-operate with the soldiery and police. On the other hand, the muster on the Common fell far short of the grand number predicted. The whole gathering did not exceed 20,000, one-half of whom were spectators, led to the spot by mere curiosity. The Chartists submitted quietly to their defeat; the detached rolls of their monster petition were despatched in hackney-cabs to Westminster; the crowd broke up, and after some slight combating, in which no serious casualty occurred, it was manœuvred into detailed masses and quietly dispersed; and the day of intended revolution ended in a gossiping wonderment.

Two months afterwards the leaders of the violent section of the Chartists began again to trouble the public peace. Numerous riots, some of them attended with loss of life, took place in Scotland and in the mid-

land counties of England ; and open-air meetings were held in the metropolis, in which language of the most incendiary kind was uttered by Messrs. Ernest Jones, Williams, Sharpe, Vernon, Looney, and Fussell, the last of whom strenuously recommended the expedient of private assassination. They were all brought to trial for these offences, convicted, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and to find recognisances for their future good behavior. Subsequently the police detected a widely-ramified conspiracy to effect a simultaneous rising in London, Manchester, and other towns, and to burn, slay, and pillage in all directions. Cuffay, Lacey, and Fay, the metropolitan ringleaders, were transported for life, and a great number of the other conspirators were subjected to various degrees of punishment.

The Irish rebellion, heralded by far more boisterous and truculent boastings than the Chartist plot, failed still more ignominiously. Newspapers had been founded for the avowed purpose of openly preaching treason, and teaching the art of street-fighting, with the most ingenious devices for maiming and torturing troops by means of vitriol, bottles turned into hand-grenades, and other missiles. War-clubs were everywhere established, whole cargoes of fire-arms were imported and sold by auction in the fairs and markets, all the smiths in Ireland were at work, night and day, manufacturing pikes, and nothing less was talked of than a levy *en masse* of the Celtic population to exterminate the Saxon intruders. Mr. Smith O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and Mr. O'Gorman went to Paris to solicit French aid. On the 3d of April they waited on Lamartine with congratulatory addresses from various bodies of Irish, but received from the foreign minister of the Republic a reply that effectually extinguished all their hopes of support from that quarter. Returning to Ireland, Messrs. O'Brien and Meagher were in the following month tried for sedition ; but the juries would

not agree to a verdict in either case. Mr. Mitchell, the editor of the famous war-journal, the *Nation*, was not so fortunate ; he was found guilty, and shipped off to Bermuda under sentence of fourteen years' transportation.

Still the Confederates continued their sanguinary ravings, and the preparations for rebellion went on with unabated activity, Lord Clarendon calmly and steadily watching the conspirators, and noiselessly providing means to render their folly innocuous. The Legislature had strengthened his hands by an act suspending the right of Habeas Corpus in Ireland, and by other enactments suited to the state of a country on the eve of a rebellion. At last the leaders of the Irish Confederation took the field. Messrs. O'Brien, Doheny, Meagher, and Dillon, the two former dressed in gorgeous uniforms, threw themselves among the colliers of Tipperary, and summoned them to the destruction of the infamous old English empire. A single battle began and ended the campaign. On Saturday, July 29, Mr. O'Brien and some thousand of his followers were ignominiously beaten by less than fifty policemen, who had posted themselves in the widow M'Cormack's house at Boulagh. Seven of the insurgents were killed, and many wounded ; and so ended the Irish Rebellion of 1848, crushed at a blow, and without the aid of one soldier of the line, by a small party of men of the same creed, race, and station as the rebels themselves. O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donohue, fell into the hands of the authorities, were tried at Clonmel, and were sentenced on the 9th of October to death for high treason. A writ of error was entered for each of the convicts ; and while it was pending it became known that in any event the Government would not enforce the full sentence of the law.

The Parliamentary session which began on the 18th

of November, 1847, and terminated on the 5th of September, 1848, was one of unexampled length, but of little practical efficiency. Its chief produce was a set of coercive and penal acts for the better enabling of the Executive to curb disaffection, but the list of its enactments tending to any positive improvement was so brief as to be almost nugatory. Parliament was summoned at an unusually early period to consider and counteract the commercial distress that so heavily affected the country ; but the violence of the crisis was over before members could come together, and the proposed inquiry was dropped, the country was left to take its chance of another panic, and nothing was done to secure a permanently safer condition of commercial affairs. The case was just the same with every other great question that was pressed upon the consideration of the Legislature : in all but two or three instances of no great moment, the decision was postponed to the next session.

The commercial vicissitudes of the British Empire during 1848 were remarkable, but not so extreme as those of the preceding year. In 1847, the range of fluctuations in Consols was full 15 per cent., been greater than had been known for eighteen years, and also considerably exceeding the range during the respective years of the declaration of war against Great Britain by the French Convention, the first Bank suspension, the Irish Rebellion, and the battle of Waterloo. In 1848, it was 10 per cent. ; namely from 90 to 80, which is quite equal to what, on the average, took place on the above-mentioned occasions. In January, Consols opened at 85 ; they crept up steadily to 90, when the shock of the French Revolution made them fall instantly 10 per cent. ; but the panic was only momentary ; and none of the subsequent convulsions of the Continent had power to disturb our money-market in anything like the same degree. It has been

pointed out as a fact pregnant with lessons of prudence of the highest national importance, that the financial consequences of the railroad mania of 1846-7 were 50 per cent. more serious than the financial consequences of a twelvemonth of revolution.

The part played by Great Britain in the agitated politics of the Continent has been confined to friendly mediation, more zealous than successful. In Spain our well-meant counsel has been rejected with a wantonness of insult which is likely, sooner or later, to work out its own punishment. Alarmed at the arbitrary and violent proceedings of the Narvaez Administration in a period of general disturbance, Lord Palmerston thought it advisable to instruct our Ambassador "to recommend earnestly to the Spanish Government and the Queen-Mother, if" he had "an opportunity of doing so, the adoption of a legal and constitutional government of Spain." It must be remembered that Queen Isabella owed her throne chiefly to the aid afforded her by Great Britain, and that she held the British Government bound by treaty to support her against all pretenders. Now, an insurrection which put the monarchy in peril took place in Madrid on the 23d of March; the measures taken in consequence by the Government were of a nature to alarm our ambassador; he remonstrated against them, but finding that his advice made no impression, he backed it by the production of Lord Palmerston's despatch, for reasons which he thus explains:—

"It began to be very probable that Count Montemolin might show himself, supported by the liberal party, and with the cry of the Constitution of 1812;—this was here canvassed on one side, a Republic on the other. Now, if the Pretender raised his banner, proclaiming constitutional principles, and we were called upon to support Queen Isabella, her Catholic Majesty upholding military government, it would be

difficult for us to support the military government against the constitutional one, or to desert Queen Isabella suddenly, on the ground that we disapproved of the course she had pursued, unless there was some proof that we had so disapproved. My unofficial conversations had no authority. Even if her Catholic Majesty fell, without exposing us to this difficult and particular question, it might be said, 'Why did not Mr. Bulwer warn the Spanish Government of the dangerous course they were pursuing? Why did he not do so with all the weight that a formal communication of the views of Great Britain would have afforded?' It was, my Lord, in view of all these various probabilities, that I gave the sanction of your Lordship's name and of my own opinion to the advice I presumed to offer. It was not, that I am aware of, couched in improper terms. I did not, therefore, expect a violently hostile reply, or that the present Government of Spain would involve amongst Queen Isabella's enemies her Majesty's Government, with more than the precipitancy with which it had included in this category distinguished and loyal Spaniards. The result shows I was mistaken."

Sir Henry Bulwer was mistaken, because, in his political calculations, he had not taken sufficient account of the ignorance of the Spanish Government, who imagined that England was in the throes of revolution, and that the Chartists and the Irish Confederates would soon make wild work in the land. Our Ambassador's note was returned to him, with an insolent reply, and soon afterwards his passports were sent him, and he was dismissed the country. Had such an affront been put upon us by a first-rate power, war would have ensued, but Spain was safe in her insignificance. Our only revenge was to suspend all diplomatic intercourse with her, and leave her perverse rulers to the justice of their countrymen. Whatever

be the effect on Spain of the severance of the alliance, to us the result can be nothing but gain.

The chances of this eventful year have brought our mismanaged colonies no relief for their chronic maladies. We have had one of our costly little border wars in the Cape colony; we have put down and punished with barbarous severity an insurrection in Ceylon, which we had provoked by our misgovernment; and we are now engaged in a sanguinary war in the Punjab, where the whole Sikh race has risen in insurrection against us.*

* The reader will bear in mind that the above was written in the early part of the present year. Our prescribed limits in this publication would of course be transcended, if we were to do more than simply allude to the triumph of the British arms in the recent wars in India.

APPENDIX.

THE year 1848 will be ever marked in the history of the world as the year of Revolutions. The events of 1849 may be regarded as the falling of the curtain after the dramatic scenes of that wonderful year.

In France, little of a revolutionary character has occurred. Her interference in Italian affairs has been justly reprobated throughout the civilized world. On the 13th of June occurred the most formidable insurrection of the year, but the troops proved faithful to the government, and it was speedily put down.

ITALY. The political condition of this country seems likely to be restored to what it was two years ago. After an obstinate and gallant resistance to French intervention, Rome was obliged to yield to superior discipline, and on the 3d of July Gen. Oudinot led his victorious army into the city of the Cæsars. Venice, too, after a struggle which won the admiration of the world, was forced to submit to an unconditional surrender of her forts, arsenals arms, etc.

The Lombardo—Venetian kingdom, is secured to the house of Austria. Such is the termination of that noble struggle maintained by the Venetians for so many months. Their valor and persevering efforts seemed to have deserved a better fate! Of their conduct throughout the trying scenes of the contest, it may be said that it was stained by none of those crimes which add to the evils of civil war.

GERMANY. The prospect of German confederation seems to have totally disappeared. As the German sovereigns, especially the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia, began to regain their former authority, the weight of the Frankfort Assembly or Parliament visibly declined. Their numbers gradually diminished, and thus passed away the fondly cherished project which was to exalt the German name.

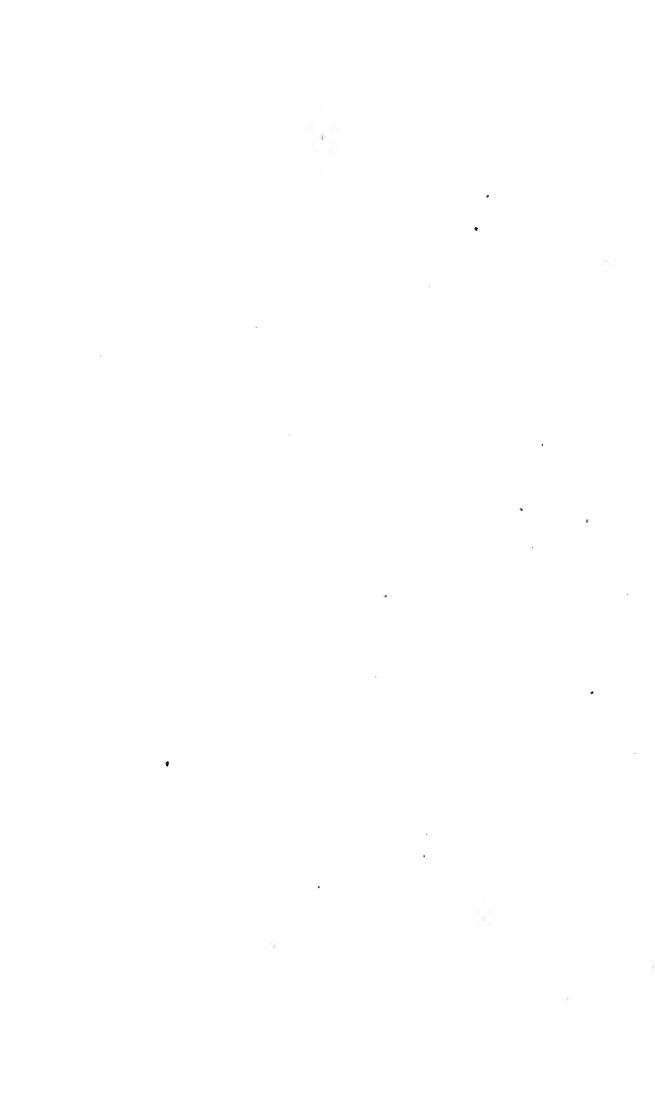
AUSTRIA. There can be nothing justly said to palliate the policy of Austria in her relations with Hungary. Her

conduct has been selfish, her pretences hollow, and her concessions unwillingly made.

On the 13th of August the Hungarian army closed a valiant, but unsuccessful, struggle by an unconditional surrender. Previous to this it appears that Kossuth, sensible of the desperate condition of affairs, resigned all power into the hands of Arthur Georgey, who forthwith surrendered and claimed that his pity for his distracted country induced the act. Kossuth and his companions escaped into the Turkish dominions, where he is still held as a prisoner, although nominally under the protection of the Sultan.

DENMARK. There is something wholly unprecedented in the situation of this little country, which though reckoning hardly 2,000,000 inhabitants, has been able to defend itself very logically in its diplomatic notes, and afterwards very heroically both by land and by sea, against a nation of 40,000,000 souls. The armistice with Prussia took place on the 17th of July.





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